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FROM THE DRAWING BY MEISSONIER.

MARSHAL NEY.

the great man to conceal his line of march, on which his safety depended. But the public could not long be imposed upon, and after a few hours' rest, Bonaparte left Philippeville and took the road to Paris, by Rocroi and Mezières.

It was at Philippeville that the Duke of Bassano and his secretary, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, who were travelling together in haste, found Napoleon in a state which indicated the feelings of his mind. It was from hence that he sent orders to Generals Rapp, Lecourbe, and Lamarque, to collect what troops were still scattered, and proceed by forced marches towards Paris; and at the same time the commanders of every fortified town on the roads leading to the capital were directed to defend themselves to the last extremity, in order that time might be gained to concentrate troops to prevent the allies from entering Paris. It was at Philippeville that Napoleon dictated two letters to his secretary, to be forwarded immediately to his brother Joseph, the substance of which is thus stated: The first was to be communicated by that prince to the council of ministers; which, however, by no means contained the whole of the fatal result of the battle; the second was a private letter to Joseph, giving him all the details of the day, and of the complete discomfiture of the army. He concluded this letter by saying, "All is however not lost; when I shall have collected my forces, I expect I shall have 150,000 men: those of the National Guards, who are still attached to me, will furnish at least 100,000; the battalions in depot can supply 50,000, consequently I shall have 300,000 troops to oppose to the enemy: the best horses of Paris must be employed for the artillery. There must be immediately a levy of 100,000 recruits to be armed with the firelocks of the royalists. I will cause a levy *en masse* of the provinces of Dauphiné, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Champagne, for I am determined to crush our enemies. But to accomplish all this you must aid me immediately. I am going to Laon. I have not yet heard of Grouchy; if he is not taken prisoner, or his corps destroyed, which I much fear is the case, I may have in three days 50,000 men more, which will enable me to engage the attention of the allies, and thus give time to Paris and to France to do their duty. The English troops march very slowly, and the Prussians, fearing our peasants, do not dare to advance. All may yet go well: write me word as to the effect which this skirmish has produced in the chamber. I believe that the deputies will feel it to be their duty to join me in every effort in order to save France: urge them to second me in my endeavours."

It was nightfall, on the 20th of June, when he approached the walls of Rocroi, where every body expected he would stop and repose himself. A considerable part of the population of that town gathered on the ramparts and saluted him with the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, but he only staid to change horses,

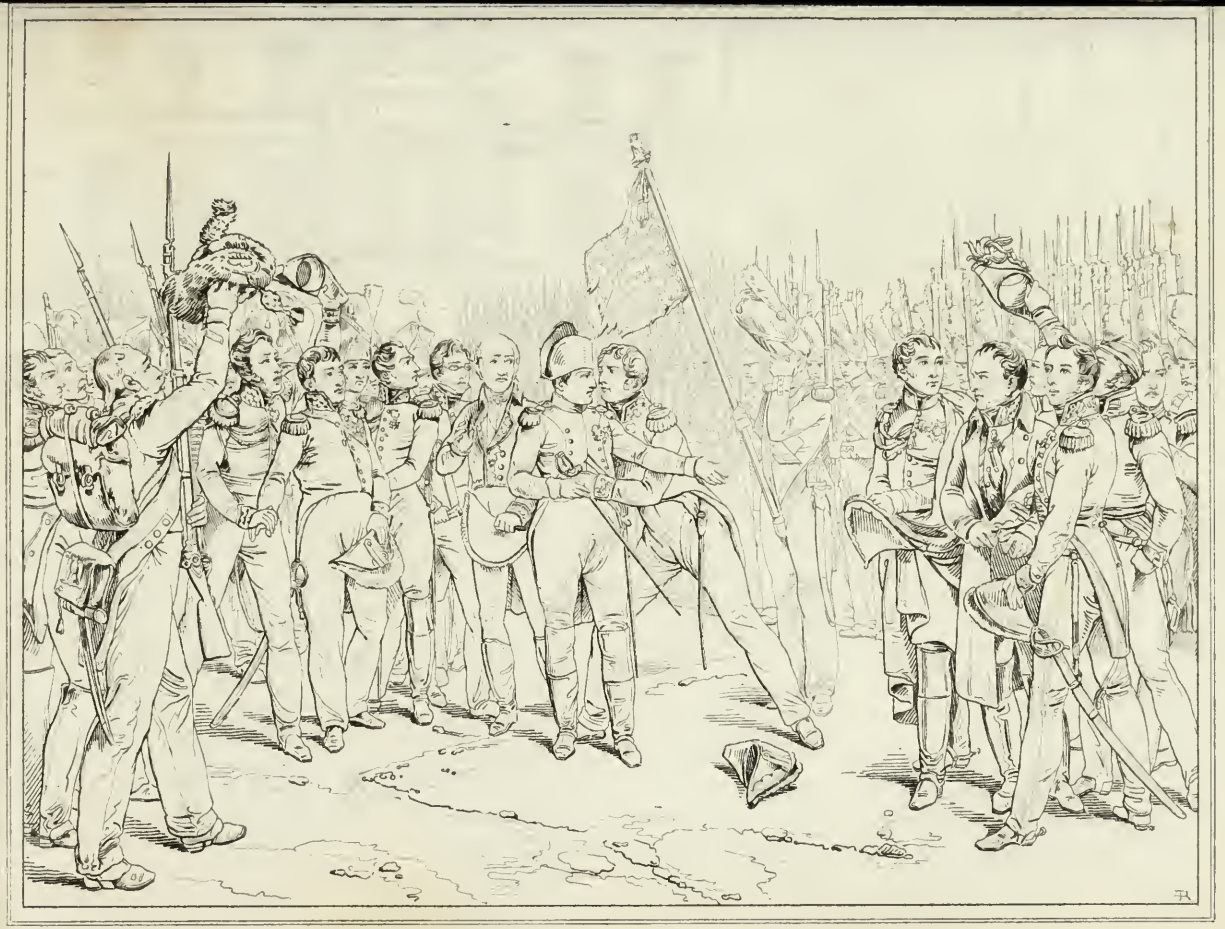
and then posted onward. In his critical circumstances, a single night, nay, a single hour gained was of the very highest importance.

## CHAPTER XI.

### 1815.

Interview with Lavallette—Proceedings in the French chambers—Second abdication of Bonaparte—He retires to Rochefort, negotiates with Captain Maitland, and finally embarks in the Bellerophon.

One of the first public men to see Napoleon after his return from Waterloo was Lavallette. "I flew," says he, "to the Elysée to see the Emperor: he summoned me into his closet; and as soon as he saw me, he came to meet me with a frightful epileptic laugh. 'Oh! my God!' he said, raising his eyes to heaven, and walking two or three times up and down the room. This appearance of despair was however very short. He soon recovered his coolness, and asked me what was going forward in the chamber of representatives. I could not attempt to hide that exasperation was there carried to a high pitch, and that the majority seemed determined to require his abdication, and to pronounce it themselves if he did not send it in willingly." 'How is that?' he said. 'If proper measures are not taken, the enemy will be before the gates of Paris in eight days. 'Alas!' he added, 'I have accustomed them to such great victories, that they know not how to bear *one day's misfortune!* What will become of poor France? I have done all I could for her.' He then heaved a deep sigh. Somebody asked to speak to him, and I left him, with an order to come back at a later hour. I passed the day in seeking information among all my friends and acquaintances. I found in all of them either the greatest dejection or an extravagant joy, which they disguised by feigned alarm, and pity for myself, which I repulsed with great indignation. Nothing favourable was to be expected from the chamber of representatives. They all said, they wished for liberty; but, between two enemies who appeared ready to destroy it, they preferred the foreigners, the friends of the Bourbons, to Napoleon, who might still have prolonged the struggle, but that he alone would not find means to save them, and erect the edifice of liberty. The chamber of peers presented a much sadder spectacle. Except the intrepid Thibaudeau, who till the last moment expressed himself with



H. Vernet p.

ADIEUX DE FONTAINEBLEAU

THE ADIEUX AT FONTAINEBLEAU

# NAPOLEON LEAVES FONTAINBLEAU.

On the 20th April, 1814, every thing was in readiness for Buonaparte to quit Fontainbleau. He desired that the guard should be summoned. Napoleon advancing towards them, signified that he would speak to them, when universal silence immediately prevailed.

"Soldiers! my old guard!" said he, "I bid you adieu! For twenty-eight years I have found you constantly in the way of honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have not ceased to be models of bravery and fidelity. With such men as you, our cause need not be lost, but the war would be interminable; it would be a civil war, and France would be more than ever unhappy! I have, then, sacrificed all our interests to those of our country; I leave you;—you, my friends, continue to serve France. Her happiness has been my only wish; it will always be the object of my prayers! Regret me not. If I am willing to live, it is only to advance your glory farther. I wish to record with my pen the great things we have done together! Farewell, my children! I would wish to embrace you all—I embrace your general!" General Petit brought forward the Eagle; Napoleon took him in his arms and kissed the standard. "Farewell, once more, my brave companions—farewell!"

admirable energy against the Bourbons, almost all the others thought of nothing else but of getting out of the scrape with the least loss they could. Some took no pains to hide their wish of bending again under the Bourbon yoke."

On the evening of Napoleon's return to Paris, he sent for M. Benjamin Constant to come to him at the Elysée about seven o'clock. The chambers had decreed their permanence, and the proposal for the abdication had reached the Emperor. He was serious, but calm. In reply to some words dropped on the disaster of Waterloo, he said, "The question no longer concerns me, but France. They wish me to abdicate. Have they calculated upon the inevitable consequences of this abdication? It is round me, round my name, that the army rallies: to separate me from it, is to disband it. If I abdicate to-day, in two days' time you will no longer have an army. These poor fellows do not understand all your subtleties. Is it believed that axioms in metaphysics, declarations of right, harangues from the tribune will put a stop to the disbanding of an army? To reject me when I landed at Cannes, that I can conceive possible: to abandon me at present is what I do not understand. It is not when the enemy is at twenty-five leagues distance that a government can be overturned with impunity. Does any one imagine that the foreign powers will be won over by fine words? If they had dethroned me fifteen days ago, there would have been some spirit in it: but as it is, I make part of what strangers attack, I make part then of what France is bound to defend. In giving me up, she gives up herself, she avows her weakness, she acknowledges herself conquered, she courts the insolence of the conqueror. It is not the love of liberty which deposes me, but Waterloo; it is fear, and a fear of which your enemies will take advantage. And then what title has the chamber to demand my abdication? It goes out of its lawful sphere in doing so; it has no authority. It is my right, my duty to dissolve it."

"He then hastily ran over the possible consequences of such a step. Separated from the chambers, he could only be considered as a military chief: but the army would be for him; that would always join him who can lead it against foreign banners, and to this might be added all that part of the population which is equally powerful and easily led in such a state of things. As if chance intended to strengthen Napoleon in this train of thought, while he was speaking, the avenue of Marigny resounded with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* A crowd of men, chiefly of the poor and labouring class, pressed forward into the avenue, full of a wild enthusiasm, and trying to scale the walls to make an offer to Napoleon to rally round and defend him. Bonaparte for some time looked attentively at this group. 'You see it is so,' said he: 'those are not the men whom I have loaded with honours and riches. What do these people owe

me? I found them—I left them poor. The instinct of necessity enlightens them; the voice of the country speaks by their mouths; and if I choose, if I permit it, in an hour the refractory chambers will have ceased to exist. But the life of a man is not worth purchasing at such a price: I did not return from the Isle of Elba that Paris should be inundated with blood.' He did not like the idea of flight. 'Why should I not stay here?' he repeated. 'What do you suppose they would do to a man disarmed like me? I will go to Malmaison: I can live there in retirement with some friends, who most certainly will come to see me only for my own sake.' He then described with complacency and even with a sort of gaiety this new kind of life. Afterwards, discarding an idea which sounded like mere irony, he went on: 'If they do not like me to remain in France, where am I to go? To England? My abode there would be ridiculous or disquieting. I should be tranquil; no one would believe it. Every fog would be suspected of landing me on the coast. At the first sight of a green coat getting out of a boat, one party would fly from France, the other would put France out of the pale of the law. I should commit every body, and by dint of repeating, 'Behold he comes!' I should feel the temptation to set out. America would be more suitable; I could live there with dignity. But once more, what is there to fear? What sovereign can, without injuring himself, persecute me? To one I have restored half his dominions; how often has the other pressed my hand, calling me *a great man!* And as to the third, can he find pleasure or honour in the humiliation of his son-in-law? Would they wish to proclaim in the face of the world that all they did was through fear? As to the rest, I shall see: I do not wish to employ open force. I came in the hope of combining our last resources: they abandoned me; they do so with the same facility with which they received me back. Well then, let them efface, if possible, this double stain of weakness and levity! Let them cover it over with some sacrifice, with some glory! Let them do for the country what they will not do for me. I doubt it. To-day those who deliver up Bonaparte, say that it is to save France: to-morrow, by delivering up France, they will prove that it was to save their own heads."*

The humiliating scenes which now rapidly succeeded one another, and which ended in Napoleon's unconditional surrender, may be briefly told. As soon as possible after his arrival at Paris he assembled his counsellors, when, it is affirmed, that he proposed proclaiming himself dictator, and that his brother Lucien was peremptorily in favour of such a measure, but that several members of the council declared their opinion, that in the present temper of the public, there was no probability that it could be carried. It is further asserted, that M. de Lafayette

* Hazlitt.

LA BARRIERE DE CLICHY

being made acquainted with what was in contemplation, repaired immediately to the chamber of representatives, of which he was a member, and that this was the cause of the propositions which he laid before them. By these, the independence of the nation was asserted to be in danger; the sittings of the chamber were declared permanent, and all attempts to dissolve it were pronounced treasonable. The propositions were adopted, and being communicated to the chamber of peers, that body also declared itself permanent. Whatever might have been the intentions of Bonaparte, it was now manifest that there were no longer any hopes of his being able to make his will the law of the nation; after some vacillation, therefore, on June 22, he published the following declaration to the French people:

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and really have directed them only against my power. My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the chambers to form without delay the regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, that you may continue an independent nation.

NAPOLEON."

This declaration was conveyed to both the chambers, which voted deputations to the late Emperor, accepting this abdication; but, in their debates, the nomination of his son to the succession was artfully eluded. The chamber of representatives voted the nomination of a commission of five persons, three to be chosen from that chamber, and two from the chamber of peers, for the purpose of provisionally exercising the functions of government; and also that the ministers should continue their respective functions under the authority of this commission. The persons chosen by the chamber of representatives were Carnot, Fouché, and Grenier; those nominated by the peers were the Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt) and Baron Quinette. The commission nominated five persons to the allied army for the purpose of proposing peace. These proceedings were however rendered of little importance, by the resolution of the victors to advance to Paris.

Napoleon's behaviour just before and immediately after the crisis, is well described by Lavallette. "The next day," he observes, "I returned to the Emperor. He had received the most positive accounts of the state of feeling in the chamber

of representatives. The reports had, however, been given to him with some little reserve; for he did not seem to me convinced that the resolution was really formed to pronounce his abdication. I was better informed on the matter; and I came to him without having the least doubt in my mind that the only thing he could do was to descend once more from the throne. I communicated to him all the particulars I had just received; and I did not hesitate to advise him to follow the only course worthy of him. He listened to me with a sombre air, and though he was in some measure master of himself, the agitation of his mind and the horrors of his position betrayed themselves in his face and in all his motions. 'I know,' said I, 'that your majesty may still keep the sword drawn; but with whom, and against whom? Dejection has chilled the courage of every one; the army is still in the greatest confusion. Nothing is to be expected from Paris, and the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire cannot be renewed.'—'That thought,' he replied, stopping, 'is far from my mind. I will hear nothing more about myself. But poor France!' At that moment S—— and C—— entered, and having drawn a faithful picture of the exasperation of the deputies, they persuaded him to send in his abdication. Some words he uttered proved to us that he would have considered death preferable to that step; but still he took it.

"This great act of abdication being performed, he remained calm during the whole day, giving his advice on the position the army should take, and on the manner in which the negotiations with the enemy ought to be conducted. He insisted especially on the necessity of proclaiming his son Emperor, not so much for the advantage of the child, as with a view to unite on one head all the power of sentiments and affections. Unfortunately, nobody would listen to him. Some men of sense and courage rallied round that proposition in the two chambers; but fear swayed the majority; and among those who remained free from it, many thought that a public declaration of liberty, and the resolution to defend it at any price, would make the enemy and the Bourbons turn back. Strange delusion of weakness and want of experience! It must, however, be respected, for it had its source in love of their country: but, while we excuse it, can it be justified? The population of the metropolis had resumed its usual appearance, which was that of complete indifference, with a resolution to cry 'Long live the King!' provided the king arrived well escorted; for one must not judge of the whole capital by about one-thirtieth part of the inhabitants, who called for arms, and declared themselves warmly against the return of the abandoned family.

"On the 23d I returned to the Elysée. The Emperor had been for two hours in his bath. He himself turned the discourse on the retreat he ought to choose, and spoke of the United States. I rejected the idea without reflection, and with

a degree of vehemence that surprised him. 'Why not America?' he asked. I answered, 'Because Moreau retired there.' The observation was harsh, and I should never have forgiven myself for having expressed it, if I had not altered my opinion a few days afterwards. He heard it without any apparent ill humour; but I have no doubt that it must have made an unfavourable impression on his mind. I insisted on his choosing England for his asylum.

"The Emperor went to Malmaison. He was accompanied thither by the Duchess de St. Leu, Bertrand and his family, and the Duke of Bassano. I went there several times a-day; for I could not leave Madame de St. Leu, who had suffered much in health by the late events. The day he arrived in that retreat he proposed to me to accompany him abroad. 'Drouot,' he said, 'remains in France. I see, the war minister wishes him not to be lost to his country. I dare not complain; but it is a great loss for me; I never met with a better head, or a more upright heart. That man was formed to be a prime minister any where.' I declined to accompany him in the following words: 'I have a daughter of thirteen years of age; my wife is four months advanced in pregnancy; I cannot make up my mind to leave her. Allow me some time, and I will join you wherever you may be. I have remained faithful to your majesty in better times, and you may reckon upon me now. Nevertheless, if my wife did not require all my attention, I should do better to go with you, for I have sad forebodings respecting my fate.'

"The Emperor made no answer; but I saw by the expression of his countenance that he had no better augury of my fate than I had. However, the enemy was approaching, and for the last three days he had solicited the provisional government to place a frigate at his disposal, with which he might proceed to America. It had been promised him; he was even pressed to set off; but he wanted to be the bearer of the order to the captain to convey him to the United States, and that order did not arrive. We all felt that the delay of a single hour might put his freedom in jeopardy.

"After we had talked the subject over among ourselves, I went to him, and strongly pointed out to him how dangerous it might be to prolong his stay. He observed, that he could not go without the order. 'Depart nevertheless,' I replied: 'your presence on board the ship will still have a great influence over Frenchmen; cut the cables, promise money to the crew, and if the captain resist, have him put on shore, and hoist your sails. I have not the least doubt but Fouché has sold you to the allies.' 'I believe it also; but go and make the last effort with the minister of marine.' I went off immediately to M. Decrés. He was in bed, and listened to me with an indifference that made my blood boil. He said to me, 'I am only a minister. Go to Fouché; speak to government. As for me, I can do nothing.

Good night.' And so he covered himself up again in his blankets. I left him; but I could not succeed in speaking either to Fouché or to any of the others. It was two o'clock in the morning when I returned to Malmaison; the Emperor was in bed. I was let into his chamber, where I gave him an account of the result of my mission, and renewed my entreaties. He listened to me, but made no answer. He got up, however, and spent a part of the night in walking up and down the room.

"The following day was the last of that sad drama. The Emperor had gone to bed again, and slept a few hours. I entered his closet at about twelve o'clock. 'If I had known you were here,' he said, 'I would have had you called in.' He then gave me, on a subject that interested him personally, some instructions which it is needless for me to repeat. Soon after I left him, full of anxiety respecting his fate, my heart oppressed with grief, but still far from suspecting the extent to which both the rigour of fortune and the cruelty of his enemies would be carried."*

All the morning of the 30th of June, the great road from St. Germain, rung with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, proceeding from the troops who passed under the walls of Malmaison. About midday, General Becker,† sent by the provisional government, arrived. He had been appointed to watch over Napoleon. The basest feeling had dictated this choice. Fouché

* Memoirs of Lavallette.

† The following official letters relative to the situation of Napoleon at this period, are too interesting to be omitted.

*Copy of the letter of the Commission of Government to Marshal the Prince d'Eckmuhl, Minister of War.*

Sir,

Such is the present state of affairs, that it is necessary that Napoleon should resolve on taking his departure for the Isle of Aix. If he does not decide upon doing so when you announce the subjoined resolutions, you will take care that he is watched at Malmaison, in order to prevent his escape. You will with this view place the proper number of gendarmerie and troops under the direction of Gen. Becker to guard every avenue which leads to Malmaison. For this purpose you will give the necessary orders to the chief inspector of gendarmerie. These measures must be as secret as possible.

This letter is intended for you; but General Becker (who will be charged to acquaint Napoleon with the resolutions) will receive particular instructions from your excellency, and will make him sensible that they have been drawn up for the interest of the state and the safety of his person; that their prompt fulfilment is indispensable; and finally, that the interest of Napoleon himself, as regards his future fate, imperiously demands their execution.

(Signed) The Duke of Otranto.

*Copy of the Resolutions of the Commission of Government.*

Paris, 26th June, 1815.

The Commission of Government resolves as follows:

Art. I. The minister of marine shall give orders for two frigates to be prepared at Rochefort to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

. A. POWELL. FROM THE PAINTING BY JEAN-LOUIS-ANDRÉ-THÉODORE GÉRICAULT, I

A WOUNDED CUIRASSIER QUITTING THE FIELD.

knew that General Becker was personally obnoxious to the Emperor, and thought to find in him a willing agent. He was

Art. II. He shall be furnished, if he requires it, until his departure, with a sufficient escort, under the command of Lieutenant-General Becker, who will be charged to provide for his safety.

Art. III. The director-general of posts shall give the necessary orders for the relays of horses.

Art. IV. The minister of the marine shall give the necessary orders to secure the immediate return of the frigates after the embarkation of Napoleon.

Art. V. The frigates shall not quit Rochefort until the safe arrival of the passports.

Art. VI. The ministers of the marine, of war, and of the finances, are charged, in respect to their several departments with the execution of the present resolutions.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

By the Commission of Government, the Assistant-Secretary of State,

(Signed) COUNT BERLIER.

*Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Minister of War.*

Paris, 27th June, 1815, noon.

SIR,

I transmit you a copy of a letter I have just written to the minister of marine respecting Napoleon. You will perceive the necessity, upon reading it, of giving orders to General Becker not to separate himself from the person of Napoleon, whilst the latter shall remain in the roads.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

*Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Minister of Marine.*

Paris, 27th June, 1815, noon.

SIR,

The commission reminds you of the instructions which it caused to be transmitted to you an hour ago. It is necessary that the resolution should be executed as directed by the commission yesterday, and according to which Napoleon Bonaparte will remain in the roads of Aix until the passports shall arrive.

The interest of the state which cannot be indifferent to him, requires that he shall remain there until his own fate and that of his family shall be definitively arranged. Every means shall be employed in order that the negotiation may be settled to his satisfaction. The honour of France is interested in it; but meanwhile every possible precaution must be taken for the personal security of Napoleon, and that he does not quit the place which has been temporarily assigned to him.

The President of the Commission of Government.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

*The Minister of War to General Becker.*

SIR, Paris, 27th June, 1815.

I have the honour to transmit to you the resolutions annexed, which the commission of government charges you to notify to the Emperor Napoleon; observing to his majesty that circumstances are so imperious, that it has become indispensable he should decide upon departing for the Isle of Aix. This resolution, observes the commission, has been taken as much for the safety of his own person as for the welfare of the state, which must always be dear to him.

If his majesty does not decide upon the notification of these resolutions, it is the intention of the commission of government that necessary measures should

grossly deceived ; for the general paid to the Emperor a degree of respect highly to his honour. Time now became pressing. The Emperor, at the moment of departure, sent a message by General Becker himself to the provisional government, offering to march as a private citizen at the head of the troops. He promised to repulse Blucher, and afterwards to continue his route. Upon the refusal of the provisional government, he quitted Malmaison. Napoleon, and part of his suite, took the road to Rochefort. He slept at Rambouillet on the 29th of June ; on the 30th, at Tours ; on the 1st of July he arrived at Niort ; and on the 3d reached Rochefort, on the western coast of France, with the intention of escaping to America, but all that sea-board was so vigilantly watched by British men-of-war, that after various plans and devices, he was obliged to abandon the attempt in despair. The Emperor now laid aside his military costume. He was lodged at the house of the prefect, at the balcony of which he occasionally showed himself to acknowledge the acclamations of the people.

During his stay here, a French naval officer, commanding a Danish merchant-vessel, generously offered to some of Napoleon's adherents, to further his escape. He proposed to take Napoleon alone, and undertook to conceal his person so effectually, as to defy the most rigid scrutiny, and offered to sail immediately to the United States of America. He required no other compensation than a small sum to indemnify the owners of his ship for the loss this enterprise might occasion them. This was agreed to by Bertrand upon certain stipulations.

On the evening of the 8th of July, Napoleon reached Fourras, receiving every where testimonies of attachment. He proceeded on board the Saal, one of the two frigates appointed by the provisional government to convey him to the United States, and slept on board that night. Very early on the following morning, he visited the fortifications of that place, and returned to the frigate to dinner. On the 10th, he despatched Count Las Cases and the Duke of Rovigo to the commander of the English squadron, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the passports promised by the provisional government to enable him to proceed to America, had been

be taken to prevent the escape of his majesty, and every attempt against his person.

I report to you, sir, that this resolution has been adopted for the welfare of the state, and for the personal security of the Emperor ; and that the commission of government considers its prompt execution as indispensable for the interest of his majesty and of his family.

I have the honour to be, &c.

This letter remained unsigned. The Prince of Eckmuhl, at the moment of despatching it, observing to his secretary, ' I will never sign that letter—do you sign it—that will be sufficient.' The secretary, however, did not sign it.

received. A negative answer was returned ; it was at the same time signified that the Emperor would be attacked by the English squadron if he attempted to sail under a flag of truce; and it was intimated that every neutral vessel would be examined, and probably sent into an English port. Las Cases affirms that Napoleon was recommended to proceed to England by Captain Maitland, who assured him that he would experience no ill-treatment there. The English ship Bellerophon, then anchored in the Basque roads, within sight of the French vessels of war. The coast being, as we have stated, entirely blockaded by the English squadron, the Emperor was undecided as to the course he should pursue. Neutral vessels and *chasse-marées*, manned by young naval officers, were proposed, and many other plans were devised.

Napoleon disembarked on the 12th, at the Isle of Aix: acclamations ringing on every side. He had quitted the frigates because they refused to sail, owing either to the weakness of character of the commandant, or in consequence of his receiving fresh orders from the provisional government. Many persons thought that the enterprise might be undertaken with some probability of success ; the wind, however, remained constantly in the wrong quarter.

Las Cases returned to the Bellerophon at four o'clock in the morning of the 14th, to inquire whether any reply had been received to the communication made by Napoleon. Captain Maitland stated, that he expected to receive it every moment; and added, that if the Emperor would then embark for England, he was authorized to convey him thither. He added, moreover, that in his own opinion, and many other officers present concurred with him, he had no doubt Napoleon would be treated in England with all possible attention and respect ; that in England, neither the king nor ministers exercised the same arbitrary power as on the continent; that the English indeed possessed a generosity of sentiment and a liberality of opinions superior even to the king. Las Cases replied, that he would make Napoleon acquainted with Captain Maitland's offer, and added, that he thought the Emperor would not hesitate to proceed to England, so as to be able to continue his voyage to the United States. He described France, south of the Loire, to be in commotion, the hopes of the people resting on Napoleon as long as he was present ; the propositions every where made to him, and at every moment; his decided resolution not to become the pretext of a civil war; the generosity he had exhibited in abdicating, in order to render the conclusion of a peace more practicable ; and his settled determination to banish himself, in order to render that peace more prompt and more lasting.

The messengers returned to their master, who, after some doubt and hesitation, despatched General Gourgaud with the following well-known letter to the Prince Regent:

Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

Royal Highness,

A victim to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to share the hospitality of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

Napoleon.

On the 14th of July, Las Cases and Savary returned to the Bellerophon, where they had a long conversation with Captain Maitland, in the presence of Captains Sartorius and Gambier, who both declare, that Maitland repeatedly warned Napoleon's adherents not to entertain the remotest idea that he was enabled to offer any pledge whatever to their master beyond the simple assurance that he would convey him in safety to the English coast, there to await the determination of the British government. On this their second interview, Captain Maitland's precise words to Las Cases were—

"You will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself as entirely at the disposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent."

Napoleon had begun to prepare for his embarkation before daylight on the 15th. It was time that he did so, for a messenger charged with orders to arrest him had already arrived at Rochefort from the new government. The execution of this order was delayed by General Becker for a few hours, in order to allow Napoleon sufficient time to escape. At daybreak he quitted the Epervier, and was enthusiastically cheered by the ship's company so long as the boat was within hearing. Soon after six he was received on board the Bellerophon with respectful silence, but without those honours generally paid to persons of high rank: Bonaparte was dressed in the uniform of the *chasseurs à cheval* of the Imperial Guard, and wore the grand cross of the Legion of Honour. On entering the vessel, he pulled off his hat, and addressing Captain Maitland, said, "I am come to throw myself on the protection of the laws of England." Napoleon's manner was well calculated to make a favourable impression on those with whom he conversed. He requested to be introduced to the officers of the ship, and put various questions to each. He then went round the ship, although he was informed that the men were cleaning and scouring, and remarked upon any thing which struck him as differing from what he had seen in French vessels. The clean appearance of the men surprised him. "He then observed," says Captain Maitland, to whose interesting narrative we refer, "I can see no sufficient reason why your ships should beat the French with so much ease. The finest men-of-war in

your service are French ; a French ship is heavier in every respect than one of yours ; she carries more guns, and those guns are of a larger calibre, and she has a great many more men." His inquiries, which were minute, proved that he had directed much attention to the French navy.

On the first morning Napoleon took breakfast in the English fashion, but observing that his distinguished prisoner did not eat much, Captain Maitland gave directions that for the future a hot breakfast should be served up after the French manner. The Superb, the admiral's ship, which had been seen in the morning, was now approaching. Immediately on her anchoring, Captain Maitland went on board to give an account of all that had happened, and received the admiral's approbation of what he had done. In the afternoon Sir Henry Hotham, accompanied by Captain Senhouse, and Mr. Irving, his secretary, were introduced to Napoleon, and invited by him to dinner. This was arranged in order to make it more agreeable to him, by Bonaparte's *maître d'hôtel.* On dinner being announced, Napoleon led the way, and seated himself in the centre, at one side of the table, desiring Sir Henry Hotham to take the seat on his right, and Madame Bertrand that on his left hand. On this day Captain Maitland took the seat at the end of the table, but on the following day, by his request, he placed himself on Napoleon's right hand, whilst General Bertrand took the top. Two of the ship's officers dined with Napoleon daily, by express invitation. The conversation of Bonaparte was animated. He made many inquiries as to the family and connexions of Captain Maitland, and, in alluding to Lord Lauderdale, who was sent as ambassador to Paris, during the administration of Mr. Fox, paid that nobleman some compliments, and said of the then premier, " Had Mr. Fox lived, it never would have come to this ; but his death put an end to all hopes of peace."

On one occasion, he ordered his camp-bed to be displayed for the amusement of the English officers. In two small leather packages were comprised the couch of the once mighty ruler of the continent. The steel bedstead which, when folded up, was only two feet long, and eighteen inches wide, occupied one case, while the other contained the mattress and curtains. The whole was so contrived as to be ready for use in three minutes.

Napoleon spoke in terms of high praise of the marines on duty in the Bellerophon, and on going through their ranks, exclaimed to Bertrand, " How much might be done with a hundred thousand such soldiers as these!" In putting them through their exercise, he drew a contrast between the charge of the bayonet as made by the English and the French, and observed that the English method of fixing the bayonet was faulty, as it might easily be twisted off when in close action. In visiting Admiral Hotham's flag-ship, the Superb, he manifested the same active

curiosity as in former instances, and made the same minute inquiries into every thing by which he was surrounded. During breakfast, one of Napoleon's suite, Colonel Planat, was much affected, and even wept, on regarding the humiliation of his master.

On the return of Bonaparte from the Superb to the Bellerophon, the latter ship was got under weigh in conformity to the following order from Sir Henry Hotham, addressed to Captain Maitland:

"*Extract of an Order from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Superb, in Basque Roads, July 15th, 1815.*

"You are hereby required and directed to take the Myrmidon under your orders, and, putting on board her such persons composing a part of the suite of Napoleon Bonaparte as cannot be conveyed in the Bellerophon, you are to put to sea in H. M. S. under your command, in company with the Myrmidon, and make the best of your way with Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite to Torbay, and there landing the officer of the ship bearing my flag, whom I have charged with a despatch addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as an officer of the ship you command, for the purpose of proceeding express to Plymouth with the despatch you will herewith receive, addressed to Admiral Lord Keith, and a copy of these instructions (which you will transmit to his lordship), await orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or his lordship, for your further proceedings."

The vessel accordingly made all sail for England, and in passing within a cable's length of the Superb, Bonaparte inquired of Captain Maitland if he thought that distance was sufficient for action. The reply of the English officer was characteristic; he told the ex-Emperor that half the distance, or even less, would suit much better. Speaking of Sir Sydney Smith, Bonaparte repeated the anecdote connected with his quarrel at St. Jean d'Acre, with that officer, which has already been related in one of the notes to the present work. Patting Capt. Maitland on the head, he observed, that had it not been for the English navy, he would have been Emperor of the East; but that wherever he went, he was sure to find English ships in the way. The Bellerophon, with Bonaparte on board, approached the coast of England on Sunday, the 23d of July, 1815, and at daybreak on the 24th, the vessel neared Dartmouth. No sooner had the ship anchored than an order from Lord Keith was delivered to Captain Maitland, from which the following is an extract:

"*Extract of an Order from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 23d July,* 1815.

"Captain Sartorius, of His Majesty's ship Slaney, delivered to me last night, at eleven o'clock, your despatch of the 14th instant, acquainting me that Bonaparte had proposed to embark on board the ship you command; and that you had acceded thereto, with the intention of proceeding to Torbay, there to wait for further orders. I lost no time in forwarding your letter by Captain Sartorius to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order that their lordships might, through him, be acquainted with every circumstance that had occurred on an occasion of so much importance; and you may expect orders from their lordships for your further guidance. You are to remain in Torbay until you receive such orders; and in the mean time, in addition to the directions already in your possession, you are most positively ordered to prevent every person whatever from coming on board the ship you command, except the officers and men who compose her crew; nor is any person whatever, whether in His Majesty's service or not, who does not belong to the ship, to be suffered to come on board, either for the purpose of visiting the officers, or on any pretence whatever, without express permission either from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or from me. As I understand from Captain Sartorius, that General Gourgaud refused to deliver the letter with which he was charged for the Prince Regent, to any person except his royal highness, you are to take him out of the Slaney, into the ship you command, until you receive directions from the Admiralty on the subject, and order that ship back to Plymouth Sound, when Captain Sartorius returns from London."

It was now first stated, in some of the English newspapers, that St. Helena would be the place of exile of the ex-Emperor, the bare report of which evidently caused great pain to Napoleon and his suite. General Gourgaud about this time returned to the Bellerophon, not having been suffered to go on shore to deliver the letter from Bonaparte to the Prince Regent, with which he had been intrusted. The ship, which bore the modern Alexander, soon became a natural object of attraction to the whole neighbourhood, and was constantly surrounded by crowds of boats. Napoleon frequently showed himself to the people from shore with a view of gratifying their curiosity. On the 25th of July, the number of boats which approached the vessel was greatly increased, and the alarm of the captives became greater as the report was strengthened as to the intention of conveying Bonaparte to St. Helena.

In conversation with Captain Maitland, Napoleon who seemed to be aware that the English fishermen united the occupation of smugglers to their usual trade, stated that many of them had been bribed by him, and had assisted in the escape of French prisoners of war. They had even proposed to deliver Louis XVIII. into his power, but as they would not answer for the

safety of his life, Napoleon refused the offer. Upon the arrival of despatches from London, the Bellerophon got under weigh for Plymouth Sound on the 26th of July. This movement tended still further to disconcert the ex-Emperor and his followers. In passing the Breakwater, Bonaparte could not withhold his admiration of that work, which he considered highly honourable to the public spirit of the nation, and, alluding to his own improvements at Cherbourg, expressed his apprehensions that they would now be suffered to fall into decay.

Captain Maitland was at this time directed by Lord Keith to observe the utmost vigilance to prevent the escape of his prisoners, and with this view, no boat was permitted to approach the Bellerophon; the Liffey and Eurotas were ordered to take up an anchorage on each side the ship; and other precautions were adopted.

On the 27th of July, Captain Maitland proceeded to Lord Keith, taking with him Bonaparte's original letter to the Prince Regent, which, as General Gourgaud had not been permitted to deliver it personally, Napoleon now desired to be transmitted through the hands of the admiral. As Lord Keith had now received instructions from his government as to the manner in which Napoleon was to be treated, he lost no time in paying his respects to the fallen chief.

On the 31st of July, the anxiously-expected order of the English government arrived. In this document, wherein the ex-Emperor was styled "General Bonaparte," it was notified that he was indeed to be exiled to St. Helena, the place of all others most dreaded by him and his devoted adherents. It was moreover specified that he might be allowed to take with him three officers of his suite, and twelve servants. To his own selection was conceded the choice of these followers, with the exclusion, however, of Savary and Lallemand, who were on no account to be permitted any further to share his fortunes. This prohibition gave considerable alarm to those individuals, who became excessively anxious as to their future disposal, and declared that to deliver them up to the vengeance of the Bourbons, would be a violation of faith and honour.

Napoleon himself complained bitterly on the subject of his destination, and said, "the idea of it is perfect horror to me. To be placed for life on an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world, and every thing that I hold dear in it!—*c'est pis que la cage de fer de Tamerlan* (it is worse than Tamerlane's iron cage). I would prefer being delivered up to the Bourbons. Among other insults," said he', 'but that is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration—they style me general! They can have no right to call me general; they may as well call me archbishop, for I was head of the church, as well as the army. If they do not acknowledge me as Emperor, they ought as First

NAPOLEON ON BOARD H. M. S. BELLEROPHON, JULY 23, 1815.

Consul; they have sent ambassadors to me as such; and your king, in his letters, styled me brother. Had they confined me in the Tower of London, or one of the fortresses in England, (though not what I had hoped from the generosity of the English people,) I should not have so much cause of complaint; but to banish me to an island within the tropics! They might as well have signed my death-warrant at once, for it is impossible a man of my habit of body can live long in such a climate."*

Having so expressed himself, he wrote a second letter to the Prince Regent, which was forwarded through Lord Keith. It was the opinion of Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, that Bonaparte would sooner kill himself than go to St. Helena. This idea arose from his having been heard emphatically to exclaim, "I will *not* go to St. Helena!" The generals, indeed, declared that were he to give his own consent to be so exiled, they would themselves prevent him. In consequence of this threat, Captain Maitland was instructed by Lord Keith to tell those gentlemen, that as the English law awarded death to murderers, the crime they meditated would inevitably conduct them to the gallows.

Early on the morning of the 4th of August, the Bellerophon was ordered to be ready, at a moment's notice, for sea. The reason of this was traced to a circumstance which is conspicuous among the many remarkable incidents by which Bonaparte's arrival near the English coast was characterized. A rumour reached Lord Keith that a habeas corpus had been procured with a view of delivering Napoleon from the custody he was then under. This, however, turned out to be a subpœna for Bonaparte as a witness at a trial in the Court of King's Bench; and, indeed, a person attempted to get on board the Bellerophon to serve the document; but he was completely foiled in his intention; though had he succeeded, the subpœna would, in the situation wherein the ex-Emperor then stood, have been utterly without avail.

On the 5th Captain Maitland, having been summoned to the flagship of Lord Keith, acquainted General Bertrand that he would convey to the admiral any thing which Bonaparte (who had expressed an urgent wish to see his lordship) might desire to say to him. Bertrand requested the captain to delay his departure until a certain document, then in preparation, should be completed; and at length brought from Napoleon's cabin a paper, of which the following is a translation:

## BONAPARTE'S PROTEST.

I hereby solemnly protest, before God and man, against the injustice offered me, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came freely on

* Captain Maitland's Narrative.

board of the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner; I am the guest of England. I was indeed instigated to come on board by the captain, who told me that he had been directed by his government to receive me and my suite, and conduct me to England, if agreeable to my wishes. I presented myself in good faith, with the view of claiming the protection of the English laws. As soon as I had reached the deck of the Bellerophon, I considered myself in the home and on the hearth of the British people.

If it was the intention of government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, merely to entrap me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag.

If this act be consummated, it will be useless for the English to talk to Europe of their integrity, their laws, and their liberty. British good faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

I appeal to history;—it will say that an enemy, who made war for twenty years upon the English people, came voluntarily, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so magnanimous an act? They pretended to hold out a friendly hand to this enemy; and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

On board the Bellerophon,
4th of August, 1815.

Captain Maitland, however, denies that any snare was laid for Bonaparte, either by himself or by the English government. He says, that the precautions for preventing the escape of Napoleon from Rochefort were so well ordered, that it was impossible to evade them; and that the fugitive was compelled to surrender himself to the English ship.

On the 7th of August, Bonaparte, with the suite he had selected, was transferred from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland. Lord Keith's barge was prepared for his conveyance to the latter vessel, and his lordship was present on the occasion. A captain's guard was turned out, and, as Napoleon left the Bellerophon, the marines presented arms, and the drum was beat as usual in saluting a general officer. When he arrived on board the Northumberland the squadron got under weigh, and Napoleon sailed for the place of his final exile and grave.*

* As so many disputes have been maintained on the subject of Napoleon's surrender to Captain Maitland, we shall here give an account of it from one of the fallen Emperor's most attached partisans. M. Fleury de Chaboulon is incorrect in some points, but he vindicates the honour both of the captain and the English admiral from the attacks of Las Cases and others.

"His presence at Rochefort excited such enthusiasm among the people, the sailors, and soldiers, that the shore uninterruptedly resounded with shouts of 'Long live the Emperor!' and these shouts, repeated from mouth to mouth, could not but teach those who had flattered themselves with having mastered the will of Napoleon, how easy it would be for him to shake off his chains, and laugh

at their vain precautions. Faithful to his determination, however, he firmly resisted the impulse of circumstances, and the continual solicitations made him to put himself at the head of the patriots and the army. 'It is too late,' he constantly repeated; 'the evil is now without remedy; it is no longer in my power to save the country. A civil war now would answer no end—would be of no utility. To myself alone it might prove advantageous, by affording me the means of procuring personally more favourable conditions: but these I must purchase by the inevitable destruction of the most generous and magnanimous spirit which France possesses; and such a result inspires me with horror.' Up to the 29th of June, the day when the Emperor quitted Malmaison, no English vessel had been seen off the coast of Rochefort, and there is every reason to believe that Napoleon, if circumstances had allowed him to embark immediately after his abdication, would have reached the United States without obstruction. But when he arrived at the sea-coast, he found every outlet occupied by the English, and appeared to retain little hope of escaping.

"The 8th of July he went on board the French frigate La Saale, which had been prepared to receive him. His suite was embarked on board the Medusa, and the next day, the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the isle of Aix. Napoleon, always the same, ordered the garrison under arms, examined the fortifications most minutely, and distributed praise or blame, as if he had still been sovereign master of the state. On the 10th, the wind, hitherto contrary, became fair; but an English fleet of eleven vessels was cruising within sight of the port, and it was impossible to get to sea. On the 11th, the Emperor, weary of this state of anxiety, sent Count de Las Cases, now become his secretary, to sound the disposition of the English admiral, to inquire whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England or to the United States. The admiral answered, that he had no orders; nevertheless he was ready to receive Napoleon, and convey him to England; *but that it was not in his power to answer whether he would obtain permission to remain there, or to repair to America.* Napoleon, not satisfied with this answer, caused two half-decked vessels to be purchased, with intention, under favour of night, to reach a Danish smack, with which he had contrived to hold intelligence.

"This step having failed, some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, proposed to him to go on board the two barks, and swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New York. Napoleon was not deterred by so long a voyage in such slight vessels; but he knew that they could not avoid stopping on the coasts of Spain and Portugal to take in water and provision, and he would not expose himself and people to the danger of falling into the hands of the Portuguese or Spaniards.

"Being informed that an American vessel was at the mouth of the Gironde, he sent off General Lallemand on the spur to ascertain the existence of the vessel, and the sentiments of the captain. The general returned with all speed to inform him that the captain would be happy and proud to extricate him from the persecution of his enemies; but Napoleon, yielding, as it is said, to the advice of some persons about him, gave up the idea of attempting this passage, and determined to throw himself on the generosity of the English. On the 14th he caused the admiral to be informed that the next day he would repair on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning, he went off in the brig l'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honours due to his rank and to his misfortune. General Becker, who had orders not to quit him, attended him. The moment they came alongside, the Emperor said to him, 'Withdraw, general; I would not have it be believed that a Frenchman is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies.' On the 16th the Bellerophon set sail for England."

## CHAPTER XII.

### 1815.

Departure for St. Helena.—Voyage.—Arrival.

The Northumberland was in the greatest confusion from the short notice at which she had sailed; and for the two first days the crew was employed in restoring order and getting ready for the voyage. The following particulars will afford an idea of that part of the ship occupied by Napoleon and his suite.—The space abaft the mizen-mast contained two public and two private cabins: the first was a dining-room about ten feet broad, and extending the whole width of the ship, lighted by a port-hole at each end and a skylight above. The drawing-room took up all the remaining space, except two cabins on the right and left, each having an entrance from the dining or mess-room, and another from the drawing-room. Napoleon occupied that on the left, in which his camp-bedstead had been put up; that on the right was appropriated to the admiral. It was peremptorily enjoined that the drawing-room should be in common and not given up to Napoleon. The form of the dining-table resembled that of the mess-room. Napoleon sat with his back to the drawing-room or after-cabin, and looking towards the head of the ship; on his left sat Madame Bertrand, and on his right the admiral, who with Madame Montholon filled up one side of the table. At the end next that lady was Captain Ross, who commanded the ship, and opposite him M. Montholon, and the admiral's secretary. The side of the table facing Bonaparte was occupied by the grand-marshal, the colonel of the 53d regiment, Las Cases, and Gourgaud. The admiral invited one or two of the officers to dinner every day. The band of the 53d newly-formed played during dinner-time.

The vessel made as much sail as the wind would permit, in order to get out of the channel; and stood along the coast of England, to procure different supplies of sea-stock. On the 10th of the month they cleared the channel, and lost sight of land. The course of the ship was shaped to cross the Bay of

Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and the heat excessive. Nothing could be more monotonous than the time they now passed. Napoleon breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours. He sent for one of his attendants every morning to know what was going on; the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with their progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the public cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party: at five o'clock the admiral having come out of his cabin a few minutes before, announced that dinner was on the table. It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at dinner: here the two courses alone took up nearly an hour and a half. This was a serious annoyance to him, though he never noticed it: his features, gestures, and manner always evinced perfect equanimity. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference or quality of the dishes ever met with his censure or observation: he never expressed any wish or objection on the subject. He was waited on by two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the admiral was in the habit of offering to help Napoleon; but the acknowledgment of the latter was expressed so coldly, that the practice was given up. The admiral continued very attentive; but thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable: they alone minded these matters, to which Napoleon appeared wholly indifferent. He was generally silent, remaining in the midst of conversation as if unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question; or to address a few words to those whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner.

Bonaparte, already tired by the length of the dinner, could not have endured the English custom of sitting drinking afterwards; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went on deck, followed by the grand-marshal and Las Cases. This disconcerted Admiral Cockburn, who expressed his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, replied, with spirit, 'Do not forget, sir, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table.' —'Very true,' rejoined the admiral; and from that time did his utmost to comply with Napoleon's habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he left the cabin; upon which every body rose till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour. Bonaparte remained walking on deck till dark, which became his regular practice. On returning to the after-cabin, he sat down to play *vingt-un* with some of his suite;

and generally retired in about half an hour. On the morning of the 15th, all his suite asked permission to be admitted to his presence, and entered his cabin at the same time. He was not aware of the cause of this visit: it was his birthday, which seemed to have altogether escaped his recollection. They had been accustomed to see him on that day on a larger stage and in far different circumstances. What a contrast; and what a train of reflections it must have called up! Usually, Napoleon lost at play: this day he won a considerable sum: while those present were congratulating him on his singular good fortune, an English officer observed, that it was the anniversary of his birthday.

On the 16th they doubled Cape Finisterre; and up to the 21st, passing the straits of Gibraltar, continued their course along the coast of Africa towards Madeira. Napoleon commonly remained in his cabin the whole morning: from the extreme heat, he wore a very slight dress. He could not sleep well, and frequently rose in the night. Reading was his chief occupation. He often sent for Count Las Cases to translate from such books as were on board, whatever related to St. Helena or the countries by which they were sailing. In the walks on deck after dinner Las Cases was frequently left alone with Bonaparte, as Bertrand had to attend his wife, who suffered greatly from sea-sickness. Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of some preceding day; and when he had taken eight or nine turns, the whole length of the deck, he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed this habitual predilection, so that the cannon was thenceforth called the *Emperor's gun*. It was here that Napoleon often conversed for hours together, and communicated to his faithful follower many interesting particulars concerning himself and others.

On the 22d they came within sight of Madeira, and at night arrived off the port. They stopped to take in provisions for a day or two. Napoleon was indisposed. A sudden gale arose, and the air was filled with small particles of sand and the suffocating exhalations from the deserts of Africa. In the evening of the 24th they made way again, and sailed on smoothly and rapidly; the time seeming long as it passed, and brief in the retrospect from the want of variety. Bonaparte added to his amusements by a game at piquet. He was but an indifferent chess-player, and there was no very good one on board. He asked, jestingly, 'How he frequently beat those who beat better players than himself?' *Vingt-un* was given up, as they played too high at it; and Napoleon had a great aversion to gaming. On the 27th they passed the Canaries without seeing the famous peak of Teneriffe, and on the 29th they crossed the tropic. One night a negro threw himself overboard

to avoid a flogging, which occasioned a great noise and bustle. A midshipman, an interesting youth between ten and twelve, meeting Las Cases descending into the cabin, and thinking he was going to inform Napoleon of the cause, caught hold of his coat, and in a tone of great concern exclaimed, 'Ah, sir, do not alarm the Emperor! Tell him the noise is owing to an accident!' In general the midshipmen on board behaved with marked respect and attention to Bonaparte: they watched his motions with an anxious eye, and either by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. He sometimes noticed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always prone to enthusiasm.

On the 1st of September they found themselves in the latitude of the Cape de Verd Islands: the admiral expected to see them on the right, but they were on his left. Every thing now promised a prosperous passage: they were already far advanced on their course. But the time hung heavy, and nothing but occupation could lighten it. Las Cases had undertaken to teach his son English; and Bonaparte also expressed a wish to learn. He however soon grew tired and laid it aside; nor was it resumed till long afterwards. His manners and habits were always the same: never did a wish or a murmur escape his lips; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humoured. The admiral, who had assumed a certain distance at first, gradually laid aside his reserve, and took a greater interest in his captive. He pointed out the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening: Bonaparte would then sometimes take his arm and prolong the conversation, which never failed to gratify him exceedingly. Napoleon sometimes talked on naval affairs, on the French resources in the south, and on the improvements he had contemplated in the ports and harbours of the Mediterranean—to all which the admiral listened with deep attention, and as if fearful of interruption, and is said to have carefully noted down every particular.

Meanwhile, Napoleon observed that Las Cases was busily employed; and suspecting the cause, obtained a sight of his journal, with which he was not displeased. He, however, took notice that some of the military details and anecdotes which were set down gave but a meagre and unsatisfactory idea of the subject of war. This first led to the proposal of his writing his own Memoirs, which was discussed at various times afterwards. At length, Napoleon came to a determination; and on Saturday, the 9th of September, he called his secretary into his cabin and dictated to him for the first time some particulars of the siege of Toulon. On approaching the line, they fell in with what are called the trade-winds, that blow constantly from the east. The course of the ship is regulated by these winds. The heat had been very moderate after leaving Madeira. On the 16th

there was a considerable fall of rain, to the great joy of the sailors, who were in want of water. The rain began to fall heavily just as Bonaparte had got upon deck to take his afternoon walk. But this did not disappoint him of his usual exercise; he merely called for his famous gray great-coat, which the crew regarded with much interest. The English were fond of talking with the French officers, and they mutually surprised each other by the opposition of their views and sentiments. One of the principal officers of the ship one day said, "I suppose you would be very much alarmed if we were to land you on the coast of France?"—"Why so?"—"Because the king would make you pay dearly for having left your country to follow another sovereign, and for wearing a cockade which he has prohibited."—"And is this language," was the answer, "becoming an Englishman? You must be strangely degenerated. You are, it is true, far removed from the period of your revolution, to which you so justly apply the epithet *glorious*. But we who are nearer to ours, by which we have gained so much, may tell you that every word you utter is heresy."

The English were also very fond of asking questions concerning Napoleon and the libels that had been published against him. This led to an examination and exposure of several of them. No man had ever been more assailed by calumny than Napoleon, which is not to be wondered at: but he would never permit any one to reply to the attacks that were made upon him. "Whatever pains," he said, "might have been bestowed on such answers, they would only have given additional weight to the accusations they were intended to refute. Facts were the most convincing answers. A fine monument, another good law, or a new victory were sufficient to defeat a thousand such falsehoods. Declamation passes away, but deeds remain."

Napoleon now began regularly to dictate his Memoirs. For the first few days he viewed the occupation with indifference; but the regularity and promptitude with which his amanuensis presented his daily task, together with the progress that was made, soon excited an interest; and at length the pleasure he derived from this employment of his mind, rendered it in a manner necessary to him. He was sure to send for Las Cases about eleven o'clock every morning, and he seemed to await the hour with impatience. He read to him what had been dictated on the preceding day; and he then dictated further with great rapidity and earnestness. In this way the time passed till four o'clock arrived, when his valet was summoned. He then proceeded to the state cabin and spent the time till dinner in playing at piquet or chess. After dinner, Bonaparte never failed to allude to his morning's dictation, as if pleased with the occupation it afforded him.

On the 23d of September they passed the line. This was

a day of great merriment and disorder among the crew; it was the ceremony which the English sailors call the *Christening*. No one is spared; and the officers are generally more roughly handled than any one else. The admiral who had previously amused himself by giving an alarming description of this ceremony, now very courteously exempted his guests from the inconvenience and ridicule attending it. Napoleon was scrupulously respected through the whole of this Saturnalian festivity. On being informed of the decorum which had been observed with regard to him, he ordered a hundred Napoleons to be presented to the grotesque Neptune and his crew, which the admiral opposed, perhaps from motives of prudence as well as politeness. One afternoon, about this period, the sailors had caught an enormous shark; and Napoleon going too near it out of curiosity, narrowly escaped a serious accident.

The west-wind which had blown for some time still continued, and drove them from their course. Napoleon every morning continued his dictation, in which he daily took more interest. He had at first nothing to guide him but a wretched work, entitled 'Wars of the French in Italy.' Bonaparte glanced through it, and his memory soon supplied all deficiencies. When he commenced his stated task, he complained that the circumstances to which he wished to recur were no longer familiar to him. After considering a few moments, however, he would rise and walk about, and then began to dictate, when he became quite another man, and every thing seemed to come as if by inspiration—places, dates, phrases—nothing stopped him.

Owing to the haste with which they had been hurried from England, the painting of the ship had been only lately finished; and this circumstance confined Napoleon, whose sense of smell was very acute, to his room for two days. They were now, in the beginning of October, driven into the Gulf of Guinea, where they met a French vessel bound for the Isle of Bourbon. They spoke with the captain, who expressed his surprise and sorrow when he learnt that Napoleon was on board. The wind continued unfavourable and the ship made little progress. The sailors grumbled at the admiral, who had gone out of the usual course. At length they approached the termination of their voyage. The weather cleared up and the wind became favourable; but this change did not take place till twenty-four hours before their arrival. On the 14th, the admiral had informed them that he expected to come within sight of St. Helena that day. They had scarcely risen from table when their ears were saluted with the cry of *Land!* This was within a quarter of an hour of the time that had been fixed on. Napoleon went on the forecastle to see the island; but it was still hardly distinguishable. At daybreak the next morning, they had a tolerably clear view of it: it looked considerable at first, but seemed to diminish as they approached.

At length, about seventy days after their departure from England, and a hundred and ten after their quitting Paris, they cast anchor about noon. They found in the harbour several vessels of the squadron which had separated from them, and which they thought they had left behind. Napoleon, contrary to custom, dressed early and went upon deck: he went forward to the gangway to view the island. He beheld a kind of village surrounded by numerous barren hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every hill was planted with cannon. Bonaparte viewed the prospect through his glass. His countenance underwent no change. He soon left the deck; and sending for Las Cases, proceeded to his day's work. The admiral, who had gone ashore very early, returned about six much fatigued. He had been walking over various parts of the island, and at length thought he had found a habitation that would suit his captives. The place stood in need of repairs, which might occupy two months. His orders were not to let the French quit the vessel till a house should be prepared to receive them. He, however, undertook on his own responsibility, to set them on shore the next day.

On the 16th, after dinner, Napoleon, accompanied by the grand-marshal, got into a boat to go ashore. As he passed, the officers were assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. Before he stepped into the boat, Napoleon sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce the liveliest sensation in all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of his suite landed about eight. They found their master in the apartments which had been assigned to him: a few minutes after, he went up stairs to his chamber. He was lodged in a sort of inn in the James-Town, which consists only of one short street, or row of houses, built in a narrow valley between two rocky hills.*

* Hazlitt.

## CHAPTER XIII.

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### 1815—1816.

#### RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The Emperor, the grand-marshal, and the admiral, riding out to visit Longwood, which had been chosen for the Emperor's residence, on their return saw a small villa, with a pavilion attached to it, about two miles from the town, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island. This spot pleased Napoleon, and the admiral was of opinion that it would be better for him to remain here than to return to the town, where the sentinels at his door, with the crowds collected round it, in a manner confined him to his chamber. The pavilion was a sort of summer-house on a pointed eminence, about thirty or forty paces from the house, where the family were accustomed to resort in fine weather to amuse themselves: this was the retreat hired for the temporary abode of the Emperor; and he took possession of it immediately. There is a carriage-road from the town; and the valley is in this part less rugged in its aspect. Las Cases was soon sent for. As he ascended the winding path leading to the pavilion, he saw Napoleon standing at the threshhold of the door. His body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back: he wore his usual neat aud simple uniform, and his celebrated little hat. Las Cases paused to look at him with that feeling of respect which greatness and misfortune inspire! The Emperor was alone: the servants were preparing his bed. He took a fancy to walk a little: but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of rock. Taking the arm of his companion, however, he began to converse in a cheerful strain. Night was advancing, profound silence, undisturbed solitude reigned around: —here then was the man who had governed the world, stripped of every thing but his unfading renown, and with all his grandeur concentrated in himself alone. When Napoleon was about

to retire to rest, the servants found that one of the windows was open close to the bed: they barricadoed it as well as they could, so as to exclude the air, of the effects of which Napoleon was very susceptible. Las Cases ascended to an upper room. From this retreat they could hear the sound of the captive's voice and distinguish his words. The valets-de-chambre lay stretched in their cloaks across the threshold of the door. Such is the description of the first night Napoleon passed at the Briars.

An English officer was lodged with them in the house as their guard; and two inferior officers were stationed near the house, to prevent any attempt at escape. Napoleon next proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him for several hours; and then took a walk in the garden, where he was met by the two Miss Balcombes, lively and innocent girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who presented him with flowers, and overwhelmed him with the most whimsical questions. Napoleon was amused by their familiarity, to which he had been little accustomed. "We have been to a masked ball," said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave.

The next day a chicken was brought for breakfast, which Bonaparte undertook to carve himself, and was surprised at his succeeding so well, it being a long time since he had done so much. The coffee he considered so bad, that on tasting it he thought himself poisoned, and sent it away. He happened to be using a snuff-box set with ancient medals, having Greek inscriptions. He gave it to Las Cases to translate one of the names, but presently laughed and said, 'I see you are no better a scholar than myself.' It was then handed to young Las Cases, a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, who easily read the names of Mithridates, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and some others. This led Napoleon to remark on the excellent education he had given to the youth of France. He said, if he had thought only of himself and of securing his own authority, he should have hid learning under a bushel, instead of doing every thing in his power to diffuse and improve knowledge. The plan of his University, he added, had been spoiled by others.

In the evening, Napoleon paid a visit to Mr. Balcombe. The young ladies, and an English gentleman who was there, fell into some droll anachronisms respecting persons they had read of in history and in the newspapers of the day. On the 21st the admiral came to visit Bonaparte. Among other privations, Napoleon could not procure a bath, so necessary to his health. In the evening, the whole of his suite met, and were assembled round him, when he made some bitter reflections on their situation. The English ministers had treated him as a prisoner of war: he was not one; or if he were, the right over him ceased with the war itself. His detention and the mode of it he considered equally an act of violence and duplicity. He transmitted a paper stating these arguments (and desiring to hear news of his wife

and son) to the English ministry, by the captain of the vessel which was about to set sail on its return to Europe.

The mornings were passed in business: in the evening Napoleon sometimes strolled to the neighbouring villa, where the young ladies made him play at whist. The "Campaign of Italy" was nearly finished; and Las Cases proposed that the other followers of Napoleon who were lodged in the town should come up every morning to assist in transcribing the "Campaign of Egypt," the "History of the Consulate," &c. This suggestion pleased the Ex-emperor, so that from that time one or two of his suite came regularly every day to write to his dictation. They then staid to dinner, and thus afforded Bonaparte a little more amusement than he had received hitherto. A tent, the gift of the Colonel of the 53d regiment, was spread out so as to form a prolongation of the pavilion. Their cook took up his abode at Briars. The table-linen was taken from the trunks; the plate was set forth; and the first dinner after these new arrangements was a sort of *fête*. One day at dinner, Napoleon casting his eye on one of the dishes of his campaign-service, on which the imperial arms were engraved, "How they have spoiled that!" he exclaimed; and he could not refrain from observing, that the king was in great haste to take possession of the imperial plate, which certainly did not belong to him. One day he drew out a cabinet, in which were a number of medallions, given him by the Pope and other potentates; some letters of Louis XVIII., which he had left behind him on his writing-table in the suddenness of his flight from the Tuileries on the 20th of March; and a number of other letters found in the portfolio of M. Blacas, intended to calumniate Napoleon.

He now never dressed till about four o'clock: he then walked in the garden, which was particularly agreeable to him on account of its solitude; the English soldiers having been removed at Mr. Balcombe's request. A little arbour in it was covered with canvas, and a chair and table placed in it; and here Napoleon afterwards dictated a great part of his Memoirs. In the evening, when he did not go out, he generally contrived to prolong the conversation till eleven or twelve o'clock. He avoided retiring to bed too early; as when he did so, he awoke in the night, and was obliged to rise and read, to divert his mind from sorrowful reflections.

It was now November. Napoleon one morning had a misunderstanding with Bertrand about a letter of complaint to the governor, which had not been delivered. "If you thought it improperly expressed, why did you not say so? This did not require more than twenty-four hours to deliberate upon; but it is now a fortnight." His good-humour, however, soon returned; and in the evening, to show it had left no disagreeable impression on his mind, he repeated more than once, "It was after we had made it up with the grand-marshal—it was before the mis-

understanding with the grand-marshal." In conversing on the subject, Napoleon expressed doubts of the accounts of the prodigious armies of Xerxes and Darius, and of the brilliant victories obtained by the Greeks over them. He believed, on the contrary, in the numerous armies of Tamerlane and Gengiskan, and the hordes of barbarians who overran Europe in the middle ages; and said the situation of Russia was admirably calculated to bring about another such catastrophe. He observed, that a conqueror to succeed must be ferocious.

Napoleon had been dictating in the garden to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud; and on walking out, found himself fatigued and indisposed. He was annoyed at seeing some females advancing to throw themselves awkwardly in his way, and turned aside to avoid them. Three horses had been placed at his disposal; and it was suggested that riding might be beneficial to him; but he replied that he never could reconcile himself to the idea of riding with an English officer constantly at his side; adding, that every thing in life must be reduced to calculation, and that if the vexation arising from seeing his gaoler were greater than the advantage he might derive from riding, it was of course advisable to renounce the amusement altogether. The horses were accordingly sent back. Napoleon closed the day with a walk. After some broken conversations, he looked at his watch, and was glad to find it was near midnight. He said that sometimes he could not reflect without dismay on the many years he might still have to live, and on the inutility of a protracted old age; and that if he were sure France was tranquil and happy, and did not need his aid, he should have lived long enough.

Thus time passed with little variety or interruption. The weather at this period of the year became delightful, and Napoleon insensibly recovered from his indisposition. One day, his usual task being done, he strolled out towards the town, till he came within sight of the road and shipping. On his return, he met Mrs. Balcombe and a Mrs. Stuart, a comely woman about twenty, who was on her way back from Bombay to England. Napoleon conversed with her on the manners and customs of India, and on the inconveniences of a long voyage at sea, particularly to ladies. He alluded to Scotland, Mrs. Stuart's native country; expatiated on the genius of Ossian, and congratulated his fair interlocutor on the preservation of her clear northern complexion from the effect of an oriental climate. While the parties were thus engaged, some heavily-burdened slaves passed near them. Mrs. Balcombe motioned them to fall back; but Napoleon interposed, exclaiming, "Respect the burden, madam!" As he said this, the Scotch lady, who had been very eagerly scanning the features of Napoleon, whispered to her friend, "Heavens! what a

character, and what an expression of countenance! How different to the idea I had formed of him!"

Napoleon shortly after repeated the same walk, and went into the house of Major Hudson, where he saw some beautiful children at play at the gate. This visit occasioned considerable alarm to the constituted authorities. The governor gave a ball, to which the French were invited; and Las Cases about the same time rode over to Longwood with Madame Bertrand in a carriage drawn by six oxen, to see what advance had been made in the preparations for their reception there. His report on his return was not very favourable. They expected to have remained only a few days at Briars; and they had now been six weeks there, during which time Napoleon had been nearly as much confined as if on board the vessel. His health began to be impaired by it. Las Cases gives it as his opinion that the Emperor did not possess that constitution of iron that is usually ascribed to him; and that it was the strength of his mind, not of his body, that carried him through the labours of the field and of the cabinet. In speaking on this subject, Napoleon himself observed that nature had endowed him with two peculiarities: one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or in any place; another advantage, as he considered it, was his being incapable of committing any injurious excess either in eating or drinking. "If," said he, "I go the least beyond my mark, my stomach instantly revolts." He was subject to nausea from very slight causes, and to colds from any change of air.

Among other things, Napoleon amused himself by reading the *New Eloise,* which he criticised at first very favourably, but afterwards more severely: and with giving an account to those about him of his different generals.*

Napoleon is described by the visiters who saw him at Briars to have been cheerful and good-humoured, making few complaints, and putting up with the necessary inconveniences of his situation without murmuring. But the complaints of his suite were loud and vehement: they were "reduced to drain the cup of misery to the dregs;" "their wretched meals were brought to them as though to criminals in a dungeon;" "they were absolutely in want of the necessaries of life," and "exposed on the top of a frightful rock to the severity of man and the rigour of nature."

St. Helena is a "true Siberia," with the *slight* difference that it is warm instead of cold, and a limited spot instead of an extensive continent. From the constant repetition of these and similar grievances, it would appear that the vexatious bickerings between Napoleon and the government of the island, which during the remainder of his life appeared to be almost its chief

* Hazlitt.

occupation, were excited much more by the complaints of his attendants than by his own feelings. They were constantly squabbling both with their guards, or as they persist in calling them, gaolers, and with each other; and Las Cases admits, that Napoleon was much annoyed by their disputes, and took a great deal of useless trouble to make them agree among themselves.

They removed to Longwood on the 10th of December, 1815. Napoleon invited Mr. Balcombe to breakfast with him that morning, and conversed with him in a very lively and cheerful manner. About two, Admiral Cockburn was announced; he advanced with an air of embarrassment. In consequence of the restraints imposed upon him at Briars, and the manner in which those of his suite residing in the town had been treated, Bonaparte had discontinued receiving the visits of the admiral; yet on the present occasion he behaved towards him as though nothing had happened. At length, they left Briars and set out for Longwood. Napoleon rode the horse, a small, sprightly, and tolerably handsome animal, which had been brought for him from the Cape. He wore his uniform of the chasseurs of the guard: and his graceful manner and handsome countenance were particularly remarked. The admiral was attentive to him. At the entrance of Longwood they found a guard under arms, who rendered the prescribed honours to their illustrious captive. Napoleon's horse, unused to this kind of parade, was startled at the sound of the drum; and refused to proceed without the help of the spur. The admiral took great pains to point out the minutest details at Longwood. He had himself superintended all the arrangements, among which was a bath. Bonaparte was satisfied with every thing, and the admiral seemed highly pleased. He had anticipated petulance and disdain; but Napoleon manifested perfect good-humour.

They were now settled in their new abode. Longwood, originally a farm belonging to the East-India Company, and afterwards given as a country residence to the deputy-governor, is situated on one of the highest parts of the island. "The difference between the temperature of this place and the valley below is very great. It stands on a level height of some extent, and near the eastern coast. Continual and frequently violent winds blow regularly from the same quarter. The sun, though rarely seen, nevertheless exercises its influence on the atmosphere, which is apt to produce disorders in the liver. Heavy and sudden falls of rain inundate the ground; and there is no settled course of the seasons. The sun passes over their heads twice a year. Notwithstanding the abundant rains, the grass is either nipped by the wind or dried up by the heat. The water which is conveyed up to Longwood by pipes, is so unwholesome as to be unfit for use till it has been boiled. The trees which at a distance impart a smiling aspect to the country, are merely gum-trees, a wretched kind of shrub, affording no shade. On one hand, the

DRAWN BY HARRY FENN. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY L. G. BILLINGS.

«LONGWOOD,» NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

horizon is bounded by the ocean: but the rest of the scene presents only a mass of huge barren rocks, deep gulfs, and desolate valleys; and in the distance appears the green and misty chain of mountains, above which towers Diana's Peak. In short, Longwood can be agreeable only to the traveller after the fatigues of a long voyage, to whom the sight of any country is a relief." This is Las Cases's account of Napoleon's new residence, and must be received with much caution, for this faithful follower of Bonaparte appears to have been difficult to satisfy.

Workmen had been employed for two months in preparing Longwood for their reception. The entrance to the house was through a room which had been just built, and which was intended to answer the double purpose of an antechamber and a dining-room. This apartment led to another, which was made the drawing-room: beyond this was a third room running in a cross direction and very dark. This was intended to be the depository of Bonaparte's maps and books, but it was afterwards converted into the dining-room. Napoleon's chamber opened into this apartment on the right-hand side. This chamber was divided into two equal parts, forming a cabinet and sleeping-room: a little external gallery served for a bathing-room. Opposite Napoleon's chamber, at the other extremity of the building, were the apartments of Madame Montholon, her husband, and her son, afterwards used as Bonaparte's library. Detached from this part of the house, was a little square room on the ground-floor, contiguous to the kitchen, which was assigned to Las Cases. The windows and beds had no curtains. The furniture was mean and scanty. Bertrand and his family resided at a distance of two miles at a place, called *Hut's Gate*. General Gourgaud slept under a tent, as well as Mr. O'Meara, and the officer commanding the guard. They were surrounded by a garden. In front, and separated from the house by a tolerably deep ravine, was encamped the 53d regiment, different parties of which were stationed on the neighbouring heights.

The domestic establishment of Napoleon consisted of eleven persons.* To one was confided the management of the household, to another the domestic details; one was to take care of the furniture and property, and another to have the management of the stables. These arrangements, however, produced

* Marchand, native of Paris, valet-de-chambre.
St. Denis, called Aly, native of Versailles, the same.
Noverraz, Swiss, the same.
Santini, Corsican, the same.
Archambault, sen., and Archambault, jun., born at Fontainebleau, grooms.
Gentilini, native of Elba, footman.
Cypriani, Corsican, died at St. Helena, maître d'hôtel.
Pierron, native of Paris, butler.
Lepage, cook. Rousseau, native of Fontainebleau, steward.

discontent among Napoleon's attendants. One thought himself injured by being placed in too low an office, another conceived that his new employment entitled him to greater consideration from the others. Las Cases admits that they were no longer the members of one family, each using his best efforts to promote the advantage of all. They were far from practising that which necessity dictated: a wreck of luxury, a remnant of ambition, became an object of contest. He says also, "The admiral has more than once, in the midst of our disputes with him, hastily exclaimed, that the Emperor was decidedly the most good-natured, just, and reasonable of the whole set."

On his first arrival, he went to visit the barracks occupied by some Chinese living on the island, and a place called Longwood farm. He complained to Las Cases that they had been of late idle: but by degrees their hours and the employment of them became fixed and regular. "The Campaign of Italy" being now finished, Napoleon corrected it and dictated on other subjects. This was their morning's work. They dined late, Madame Montholon being seated on Napoleon's right, Las Cases on his left, and Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases's son sitting opposite. The smell of the paint not being yet gone off, they remained not more than ten minutes at table, and the dessert was prepared in the adjoining apartment, where coffee was served up, and conversation commenced. Scenes were read from Molière, Racine, and Voltaire: and regret was always expressed at their not having a copy of Corneille. They then played at *reversis*, which had been Bonaparte's favourite game in his youth. The recollection was agreeable to him, and he thought he could amuse himself at it for any length of time, but was soon undeceived. His aim was always to make the *reversis*, that is, to win every trick. Character develops itself in the smallest incidents. He read a libel on himself and contrasted the compliments which had passed between himself and the Queen of Prussia with the brutal behaviour ascribed to him in the English newspapers. On the other hand, two common sailors had at different times, while he was at Longwood and at Briars, in spite of orders and at all risks made their way through the sentinels to gain a sight of Napoleon. On seeing the interest they took in him, he exclaimed, "This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!" By degrees, the prejudices of the English who came in contact with him wore off.

The instructions of the English ministers with regard to the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena, had been prepared with the view completely to secure his person. An English officer was to be constantly at his table. This order, however, was not carried into effect. An officer was also to accompany Napoleon in all his rides; this order was dispensed with within certain prescribed limits, because Napoleon had refused to ride out at all on such conditions. Almost every day brought with

it some new cause of uneasiness and complaint. Sentinels were posted beneath Napoleon's windows and before his doors. This order was, however, doubtless given to prevent him from being annoyed by impertinent curiosity. The French were certainly precluded from all free communication with the inhabitants of the island; but this precaution was of unquestionable necessity for the security of Bonaparte's person. Las Cases complains that the passwords were perpetually changed; so that they lived in constant perplexity and apprehension of being subjected to some unforeseen insult. "Bonaparte," he continues, "addressed a complaint to the admiral, which obtained for him no redress. In the midst of these complaints, the admiral wished to introduce some ladies (who had arrived by the Doris) to Napoleon; but he declined, not approving this alternation of affronts and civilities." He however consented at the request of the colonel, to receive the officers of the 53d regiment. After this officer took his leave, Napoleon prolonged his walk in the garden. He stopped awhile to look at a flower in one of the beds, and asked his companion if it was not a lily? It was indeed a magnificent one. The thought that he had in his mind was obvious. He spoke of the number of times he had been wounded; and said it had been thought he had never met with this sort of accidents from his having kept them secret as much as possible.

It was near the end of December. One day, after a walk and a *tumble* in the mud, Bonaparte returned and found a packet of English newspapers, which the grand-marshal translated to him. This occupied him till late, and he forgot his dinner in discussing their contents. After dinner had been served, Las Cases wished to continue the translation, but Napoleon would not suffer him to proceed from consideration for the weak state of his eyes. "We must wait till to-morrow!" said he. The admiral came in person to visit him; and the interview was an agreeable one. After some animated discussion, it was arranged that Napoleon should henceforth ride freely about the island; that the officer should follow him only at a distance; and that visiters should be admitted to him, not with the permission of the admiral as the inspector of Longwood, but with that of the grand-marshal, who was to do the honours of the establishment. These concessions were however recalled. On the 30th of this month, Piontkowski, a Pole, who had been left behind, but whose entreaties prevailed upon the English government, joined Bonaparte. On New-year's day, all their little party was collected together, and Napoleon, entering into the feelings of the occasion, begged that they might breakfast and pass it together. Every day furnished some new trait of this kind.

Having given some idea of Napoleon's general mode of life, which admitted of slight variation, it is necessary to hasten forward. The English officer having insisted on accompanying

Napoleon in his rides, in consequence of some new orders, he discontinued the exercise for some time, during which he was glad of any book to amuse himself with. "Time," he said, "is the only thing of which we have too much here." Among others, the collection called the *Antigallican* was thrown in his way, at which he laughed heartily. Las Cases observes, that the calumnies in this work were so coarse and ridiculous, that with the exception of the lowest class among the English, its poison carried its own antidote with it. They heard by the papers of the insurrection in Spain and the death of Porlier, the execution of Ney, and the escape of Lavallette. All these occurrences interested Napoleon exceedingly, and he made a variety of observations on them: he had acquired by this time, with Las Cases's assistance, a little knowledge of the English language.

After some mixed conversation one evening, Napoleon inquired, "What is the day of the month?" It was the 11th of March. "It is a year ago," said he, "to-day; it was a brilliant day! I was at Lyons. I reviewed some troops; I invited the mayor to dine with me, who has since boasted that it was the worst dinner he ever made in his life." Bonaparte became animated: he paced the chamber rapidly. "I had again become a great power," he continued; and a sigh escaped him, which he immediately checked with these words, in an accent and with a warmth difficult to describe: "I had founded the finest empire upon earth, and I was so necessary to it, that notwithstanding all my last reverses, here, upon my rock, I seem still to remain master of France. Look at what is now going on there; read the papers; you will find it so in every line. Only let me once more set my foot there: they will see what France and what I can do! What a fatality that the allies did not acquiesce in my return from the isle of Elba; that every one did not perceive that my reign was desirable and requisite to the balance and peace of Europe! But both kings and people feared me; they were in error, and may rue it dearly. I returned a new man; they could not believe it: they could not conceive that a man might have strength of mind enough to alter his character, or to submit to circumstances. I had, however, given proofs of this, and some pledges to the same effect. Who can be ignorant that I am not a man for half measures? I would have been as sincerely the monarch of the constitution and of peace, as I had been of absolute sway and great enterprises. What could the allied sovereigns apprehend? Did they still dread my ambition, my conquests, my universal monarchy? But my power and my resources were no longer the same; and besides, I had only defeated and subdued them in my own defence: this is a truth which time will more fully make manifest every day. *Europe never ceased to make war upon France, her principles, and me; and we were compelled to destroy, to prevent our own destruction.*

"The coalition always existed openly or secretly, avowed or denied; it was permanent: it only remained with the allies to make peace: for ourselves, we were worn out; the French dreaded making new conquests. But even the French mistrusted me: they had the madness to debate when there was nothing left but to fight; and to form themselves into factions when they should have united by all possible means. And was it not better to run the risk of having me again for master, than to subject themselves to that of submitting to a foreign tyranny? Would it not have been easier to shake off a single tyrant than to break through the chains of all the nations united? And whence did they derive this mistrust of me? Because they had already seen me concentrate every effort in myself, and direct them with a vigorous hand. But do they not learn at the present day to their cost, how necessary that was? Well! the danger was in any case the same: the contest terrible, and the crisis imminent. In this state of things, was not absolute power almost indispensable? The welfare of the country obliged me even to declare it openly on my return from Leipsic. I should have done so again on my return from Elba. I was wanting in consistency, or rather in confidence in the French people, because many of them no longer placed any in me, and this was doing me a great wrong. If narrow and vulgar minds only saw in all my efforts the care of my own power, ought not those of greater comprehension to have known that in the circumstances in which we were placed, my power and the country were but one? Did it require such great and incurable mischiefs to enable them to understand me? History will do me more justice: it will point me out as the man of self-denials and disinterestedness. To what temptations was I not exposed in the army of Italy? England offered me the crown of France at the time of the treaty of Amiens: I refused peace at Chatillon: I disdained all personal stipulations at Waterloo—and why? Because all this had no reference to my country, and I had no ambition distinct from her, that of her glory, her ascendancy, her majesty. And that is the reason why, in spite of so many calamities, I remain so popular in France."

## CHAPTER XIV.

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### 1816.

#### RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

On the 14th of April, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe, the new governor, arrived at St. Helena. This epoch is important, as marking the beginning of a continued series of squabbles, hard names, accusations, and counter-accusations, by which the last five years of Napoleon's life were constantly occupied, to the great annoyance of himself and all connected with him, and probably to the shortening of his own existence. It would be tedious to detail the progress of this petty war, but as a subject which has formed so great a portion of the life of Napoleon, it must not be omitted. To avoid any thing which may appear like a tendency against Napoleon, the details, unless when otherwise mentioned, will be derived from Las Cases, his devoted admirer.

On the first visit of the new governor, which was the 16th of April, Napoleon refused to admit him. On the second visit he was admitted to an audience. What passed there is not stated by Las Cases, but Napoleon seems to have taken up a prejudice at first sight, as he remarked to his suite that the governor was "hideous, and had a most ugly countenance," though he allowed he ought not to judge too hastily. The spirit of the party was shown by a remark made, that the two first days had been days of battle.

The governor saw Napoleon again on the 30th, and the interview was stormy. Napoleon argued with the governor on the conduct of the allies towards him, said they had no right to dispose of him, who was their equal and sometimes their master. He then declaimed on the eternal disgrace the English had inflicted on themselves by sending him to St. Helena; they wished to kill him by a lingering death; their conduct was worse than that of the Calabrians in shooting Murat. He talked of the cowardliness of suicide, complained of the small extent and

horrid climate of St. Helena, and said it would be an act of kindness to deprive him of life at once. Sir H. Lowe said that a house of wood, fitted up with every possible accommodation was then on its way from England for his use. Napoleon repelled it at once, and exclaimed that it was not a house but an executioner and a coffin that he wanted; the house was a mockery, death would be a favour. A few minutes after, Napoleon took up some bulletins of the campaigns of 1814, which lay on the table, and asked Sir H. Lowe, if he had written them. Las Cases, after saying that the governor replied in the affirmative, finishes his account of the interview; but according to O'Meara, Napoleon said they were full of folly and falsehood. The governor with a much milder reply than most men would have given, retired, and Napoleon harangued upon the sinister expression of his countenance, abused him in the coarsest manner, and made his servant throw a cup of coffee out of the window, because it had stood a moment on a table near the governor.

It was expected and required that all persons who visited at Longwood or at Hut's Gate, should make a report to the governor, or to Sir Thomas Reade, of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were posted around Longwood House and grounds.

During some extremely wet and foggy weather (with high winds) Napoleon did not go out for several days. Messengers and letters continually succeeded one another from Plantation House. The governor appeared anxious to see Napoleon, and was evidently distrustful, although the residents at Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand on the necessity there existed, that some one of his officers should see Napoleon daily. He also went to Longwood frequently himself, and finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with Napoleon in his bedchamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before, he sent for Mr. O'Meara, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive; walked round the house several times and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing.

On the morning of the 5th of May Napoleon sent for his surgeon to come to him. He was introduced into his bedchamber, a description of which is thus given: "It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering-paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pulleys, looked towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fireplace, a shabby grate and fire-irons to match,

with a paltry mantelpiece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantelpiece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also the portrait of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the Consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Maria Louisa, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, on which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a chest of drawers, and a book-case with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door there was a screen covered with nankeen; and between that and the fireplace, an oldfashioned sofa covered with white long-cloth, on which Napoleon reclined, dressed in his white morning-gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one, a chequered red handkerchief upon his head, and his shirt-collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the opposite side of the sofa was suspended Isabey's portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms. In front of the fireplace stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing remained but a superb washhand-stand containing a silver basin and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner. The object of Napoleon in sending for O'Meara on this occasion was to question him whether in their future intercourse he was to consider him in the light of a spy and a tool of the governor or as his physician? The doctor gave a decided and satisfactory answer on this point.

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bedchamber, one of the first things he proposed was to send you away," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "and that I should take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated, and so earnest was he to gain his object, that though I gave him a flat refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it."

On the 11th, a proclamation was issued by the governor, "forbidding any persons on the island from sending letters to or receiving them from General Bonaparte or his suite, on pain of being immediately arrested and dealt with accordingly." Nothing escaped the vigilance of Sir Hudson Lowe. "The governor,"

said Napoleon, "has just sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Bonaparte to come to Plantation-house to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her, he would have put Plantation-house within the limits; but to send such an invitation, knowing I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult.—It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some despatches to his government descriptive of part of the operations in 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him; and asked him, "Are these your productions, sir ?" He replied, *Yes.* I told him they were full of misrepresentations and nonsense. He shrugged up his shoulders, and said, 'I merely stated what I saw.' If those letters were the only accounts he transmitted, he betrayed his country." A few days after, in consequence of another visit from the governor, he expressed himself thus: "Here has been this ill-favoured wretch to torment me again. Tell him that I never want to see him, and that I hope he may not come again to annoy me with his hateful presence, unless it be with orders to despatch me. He will then find my breast ready for the blow; but till then, let me be rid of his odious countenance: I cannot reconcile myself to it." Bonaparte's aversion to Sir Hudson Lowe, based upon prejudice from beginning to end, was so great, we perceive in this anecdote, as to make him forget what was due to himself. He could not succeed, however, in his endeavours to disturb the equanimity of the governor.

From this time the whole of his intercourse with the governor and his agents was in fact nothing but a series of altercations. "Your government," said he in a moment of irritation, "is mistaken, if it imagines that by endeavouring to distress me, such as sending me here, depriving me of all communication with my nearest and dearest relatives, so that I am ignorant if one of my family exist, isolating me from the world, imposing unnecessary and petty restrictions which are daily getting worse, sending out the lowest of mankind as keepers, it will weary out my patience, and drive me to destroy myself. Even if I ever had entertained a thought of the kind, the idea of the gratification it would afford them would prevent me from completing it. And then that *palace,*" he added, laughing, "which they say they are sending out for me, is so much money thrown into the sea. I would much prefer they had sent me four or five hundred volumes of books than all their furniture and houses. Besides, it will take some years to build it; and before that time, I shall be no more."

Napoleon, however, from the elasticity of his spirits, soon recovered his gaiety, and inquired as usual after the news. He was told that some ladies he had received a few days before were highly delighted with his manners; especially as from what

they had read and heard, they had been prepossessed with a very different opinion. "Ah!" said he, laughing, "I suppose they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal." Soon after came the *Declaration of the Allies* and the *Acts of Parliament*, authorizing the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war and disturber of the peace of Europe. Against the bill when brought into the House of Lords, there were two protests, those of Lord Holland and of the Duke of Sussex. These official documents did not tend to sooth the temper or raise the spirits of the French to endure their captivity.

In addition to the misery of his own captivity, Napoleon had to contend with the unmanageable humours of his own followers. As often happens with men in such circumstances, they sometimes disagreed among themselves; and part of their petulance and ill-temper fell upon their chief. He took these little incidents deeply to heart. On one occasion, he said in bitterness, "I know that I am fallen; but to feel this among you! I am aware that man is frequently unreasonable and susceptible of offence. Thus, when I am mistrustful of myself, I ask, Should I have been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my sure test."

To the *Declaration of the Allies* he desired Montholon to give the following masterly reply:

## OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

"General,—I have received the treaty of the 2d of August, 1815, concluded between the King of Great Britain, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, annexed to your letter of the 23d of July.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the intention of that treaty, as he is not the prisoner of England. After having placed his Abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the benefit of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he proceeded voluntarily to England, with the view of residing there in retirement, as a private person, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of all laws cannot constitute a right *de facto*. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England; but neither, *de facto* nor *de jure*, has he been, nor is he, at present, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; even according to the laws and customs of England, which has never reckoned, in its exchange of prisoners, Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, although united to those states by treaties of alliance, and making war in conjunction with them. The Convention of the 2d of August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had arrived in England, cannot lawfully have any effect; it merely presents the spectacle of the Coalition of the four principal powers of Europe, for the oppression of a single man; a Coalition which the opinion of every people disavows, as do all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the

King of Prussia not having, either *de facto* or *de jure*, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, were incapable of enacting any thing with regard to him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have recollected the relations formed by religion and nature between a father and a son—relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that four times Napoleon re-established him on his throne: at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna; at Presburgh in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were in possession of the capital and of three-fourths of Austria. That prince would have remembered the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812.

"If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Russia, he would not have forgotten the ties of friendship, contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during twelve years of daily intercourse; he would not have forgotten the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day subsequent to the battle of Austerlitz, when having it in his power to take him prisoner with the remains of his army, he contented himself with his *parole*, and suffered him to effect his retreat; he would not have forgotten the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself in order to extinguish the fire of Moscow and preserve that capital for him; unquestionably that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been even in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would have remembered that it depended upon the Emperor's will, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin; he would have remembered, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devoted attachment which he expressed to him in 1812, at the interviews at Drésden. It is accordingly evident from the 2d and 5th articles of the said treaty, that being incapable of any influence whatever over the fate and the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these princes refer themselves in that respect to the future conduct of the King of Great Britain, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations.

"These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with preferring the protection of the English laws to their own. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon entertained of the liberality of the English laws and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people on its government, induced him to prefer the protection of those laws to that of his father-in-law, or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon would always have been able to obtain the security of what related personally to himself by treaty, whether by placing himself again at the head of the army of the Loire, or by putting himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but looking for the future only to retirement and to the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared unnecessary to him. He thought, that the English people would have felt more bound by his frank conduct, which was noble and confiding, than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He

has been deceived ; but this delusion will for ever excite the indignation of real Britons, and with the present as well as future generations, it will be a proof of the perfidy of the English administration. Austrian and Russian commissioners have arrived at Saint Helena; if the aim of their mission be to fulfil a part of the duties, which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care, that the English agents, in a small colony, in the middle of the ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince, connected with them by the ties of relationship, the characteristics of these two sovereigns will be recognised in that measure. But you, Sir, have asserted that these commissioners possessed neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on whatever may be transacted on this rock.

" The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to Saint Helena, two thousand leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, five hundred leagues removed from every continent, is exposed to the devouring heat of that latitude ; it is, during three quarters of the year, covered with clouds and mists ; it is both the driest and most damp country in the world. This climate is peculiarly injurious to the Emperor's health. It is hatred which dictated the selection of this residence, as well as the instructions, given by the English ministry to the officers in command in this country; they have been ordered to style the Emperor Napoleon *General*, being desirous of compelling him to acknowledge that he never reigned in France. This decided him not to take an incognito title, as he had determined, on quitting France. First Magistrate for life, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain. He received as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his court. He accredited at the court of England Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided there as ambassadors. When, after the exchange of credentials between the ministers for foreign affairs of the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, provided with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries provided with full powers by the Emperor Napoleon, and resided several months at the court of the Tuileries. When afterwards at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum, which the allied powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris ; but France was required to renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the allied powers ; and was also contrary to the oath by which, at his coronation, the Emperor had sworn to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought these natural limits were necessary to the security of France as well as to the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the French nation, in the circumstances under which she was placed, ought rather to risk every chance of war than to resign them. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, had not treason contributed to the success of the allies. The treaty of the 2d of August

and the bill of the British Parliament, style the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and give him only the title of General. The title of *General Bonaparte* is no doubt eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor; that would be to admit that he had neither been first magistrate of the republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks, which, by divine right, belong to some families, are neither of this age, nor agree with the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the order of its dynasties, because the great alterations in public opinion, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had made them enemies to the happiness of the great majority of that nation. For kings are but hereditary magistrates, who exist for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is the same spirit of hatred, which directed that the Emperor Napoleon should not write nor receive any letter without its being opened and read by the English ministers and the officers of Saint Helena. He has, by that regulation, been interdicted the possibility of receiving intelligence from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers; and when, wishing to free himself from the inconvenience of having his letters read by inferior officers, he desired to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was told, that open letters only could be taken charge of and conveyed, and that such were the instructions of the ministry. That measure requires no comment; it will suggest strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would be disavowed even at Algiers! Letters have been received for general officers in the Emperor's suite; they were opened and delivered to you; you did not deliver them, because they had not been transmitted through the medium of the English ministry; it was found necessary to make them travel four thousand leagues over again, and these officers had the misfortune to know, that there existed on this rock news from their wives, their mothers, and their children, which they could not become acquainted with in less than six months!—The heart revolts at this. Permission could not be obtained to subscribe to the Morning Chronicle, to the Morning Post, or to some French journals: some broken numbers of the Times have been occasionally sent to Longwood. In consequence of the demand made on board the Northumberland, some books have been sent; but all those which relate to the transactions of late years, have been carefully kept out of the way. It was since intended to open a correspondence with a London bookseller for the purpose of being directly supplied with books which might be wanted, and with those relative to the events of the day: this was prevented. An English author having published in London an account of his travels in France, took the trouble to send it as a present to the Emperor, but you did not think yourself authorized to deliver it to him, because it had not reached you through the channel of your government. It is also said, that other books, sent by their authors, have not been delivered, because the address of some was—*To the Emperor Napoleon*, and of others—*To Napoleon the Great.* The English ministry are not au-

thorized to direct any of these annoyances. The law, however unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war; but prisoners of war have never been prohibited from subscribing to the journals, or receiving books that are printed: such a prohibition only exists in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is every where inaccessible; the coast is guarded by brigs, posts within sight of each other are placed on the shore, and all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one small town, James-Town, where the vessels anchor, and from which they sail. In order to prevent the escape of an individual, it is sufficient to guard the coast by land and sea. By interdicting the interior of the island, one object only can be in view, that of preventing a ride of eight or ten miles, which it would be possible to take on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the opinion of medical men, is calculated to abridge the Emperor's life.

"The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind; a barren piece of ground, uninhabited, without water, and incapable of any cultivation. The space around contains about twelve hundred uncultivated fathoms. At the distance of eleven or twelve hundred fathoms, a camp was established on a rising ground; another has been since placed nearly at the same distance in an opposite direction, so that in the intense heat of the tropic, whichever way the eye is directed, nothing is seen but encampments. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving the utility of a tent to the Emperor in that situation, has had one pitched by his seamen at the distance of twenty paces from the house; it is the only spot in which shade is to be found. The Emperor has, however, every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the gallant 53d, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland. The house at Longwood was constructed to serve as a barn to the company's farm; some apartments were afterwards made in it by the deputy-governor of the island; he used it for a country-house; but it was in no respect adapted for a residence. During the year it has been inhabited, it has been always in want of repair, and the Emperor has been constantly exposed to the inconvenience and unwholesomeness of a house undergoing repairs. His bedchamber is too small to contain a bedstead of ordinary size; but any additional building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience arising from the presence of the workmen. There are, however, in this wretched island some beautiful situations, with fine trees, gardens, and tolerably good houses, among others, Plantation House; but you are prevented by the positive instructions of the ministry from granting this house, which would have saved a great deal of expense laid out in building, at Longwood, huts covered with pitched paper, which are already unserviceable. You have prohibited every kind of intercourse between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, converted Longwood House into a secret prison; you have even thrown difficulties in the way of our communication with the officers of the garrison. The most anxious care would seem to be taken to deprive us of the few resources afforded by this miserable spot, and we are no better off here than we should be on Ascension

Rock. During the four months you have been at St. Helena, you have, sir, rendered the Emperor's condition worse. It was observed to you by Count Bertrand, that you violated the law of England, that you trampled upon the privileges of general officers, prisoners of war. You answered, that you knew nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that they were still worse than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

(Signed) Count de Montholon.

"P.S.—I had, sir, signed this letter, when I received yours of the 17th, to which you annex the estimate of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable to meet the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you have thought practicable. The consideration of this estimate can in no respect concern us; the Emperor's table is scarcely supplied with what is necessary; all the provisions are of a bad quality and four times dearer than at Paris. You require a fund of twelve thousand pounds sterling from the Emperor, as your government only allows you eight thousand pounds for all these expenses. I have had the honour of telling you, that the Emperor had no funds; that no letter had been received or written for a year, and that he was altogether unacquainted with what has taken place in Europe. Transplanted by violence to this rock, at the distance of two thousand leagues, without being able to receive or to write any letter, he now finds himself at the mercy of the English agents. The Emperor has uniformly desired and still wishes to provide for all his own expenses of every kind, and he will do so as speedily as you shall render it possible, by removing the prohibition laid upon the merchants of the island, of carrying on his correspondence, and releasing it from all kind of inquisition on your part, or on that of any of your agents. The moment the Emperor's wants shall be known in Europe, the persons entrusted with the care of his affairs will transmit the necessary funds.

"The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas! Can your ministers then be so ignorant as not to know, that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of spectacles? Can they be ignorant that Napoleon at Saint Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, to which he opposes nothing but serenity, is greater, more sacred, more to be revered, than on the first throne of the world, where he was so long the arbiter of kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon, in his present position, merely degrade their own character and the nation which they represent!"

## CHAPTER XV.

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### 1816.

#### RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The mode of life adopted by Napoleon at Longwood was very regular. He usually rose early, and employed an hour or two either in dictating to one of his generals, or in a ride on horseback. He generally took his breakfast about ten o'clock sometimes in his own room, and sometimes with his suite. He devoted the early part of the day to reading or to dictation, until about two or three o'clock, when he was in the habit of receiving visiters. After this he again took an airing, either on horseback or in his carriage, attended by the whole of his suite. On his return, he either resumed his book, or continued his dictation until dinner-time, which was eight o'clock. He preferred plain food, of which he ate plentifully and with appetite; his drink was claret, of which he took but little, very rarely more than a pint. After dinner chess, cards, a play or a romance read aloud, or general conversation, served to pass away the time until ten or eleven o'clock, at which hour he usually went to bed.

One of Napoleon's first excursions was to the house of a farmer, in his neighbourhood, where he took the family by surprise. The wife and children of the farmer, frightened at the very idea of Napoleon, made a rapid escape, and Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland, who relates the anecdote, insinuates that the bold farmer himself would have followed the example, if he had not been stopped in the doorway. Mr. Warden thus describes the interview: Master Legg, the tenant of the mansion, a plain, honest countryman, met the Emperor at the door, when the extraordinary visiter dismounted from his horse, and accompanied by the Count Las Cases, entered the house, familiarly took his seat, and as usual began his interrogatories.

"Have you a wife?"—"Yes, and please you, Sir Emperor."

"Have you any children?"—"Six."

"How much land have you got?"—"A hundred acres."

"All capable of being cultivated?"—"No, not one half."

"What profit does it bring you?"—"Not a great deal, but it is much improved since you, Mr. Emperor, came amongst us."

"Ay, how do you make that out?"—"Why, you must know, Sir Emperor, we do not grow corn in this here island, and our green vegetables require a ready market. We have generally had to wait for the arrival of a fleet, and then, rat 'em, they would sometimes all spoil; but now, Sir General, we have a prime sale for every article."

"Where is your wife?"—"Dang it, and please you, I believe she is scared; for I see my children have all run out."

"Send for them and let me be introduced. Pray have you any good water?"—"Yes, sir, and wine too, such as is to be had from the Cape."

The good woman's alarm had by this time subsided, and she was persuaded by her husband to make her appearance. She entered with every mark of respect, and some astonishment. Napoleon, Las Cases, the farmer, and his wife, forming a *partie quarrée*, sat down to four glasses of Cape wine, and when they were emptied, the visit concluded. The farmer and his family had been placed so much at their ease by the courteous demeanour of their unexpected guest, that the subsequent visits laid them under no restraint; and even the little children used frequently to express their wishes by inquiring of their mother, "When will Bonaparte come and see us again?"

On several other occasions he appeared to acquiesce in his new position, and seemed willing to be as contented as a fallen monarch could make himself. He once detained the Lieut.-Governor Skelton and his lady to dine with him, and very agreeably entertained them; and sometimes he paid visits to the persons who resided in his neighbourhood. One day passing a field where some labourers were ploughing, he alighted from his horse, seized the plough, and, to the astonishment of the ploughmen, traced a furrow of considerable length. The attraction of a ball at the governor's house, to which the party were invited, drew even the gentlemen of his suite from the ordinary pertinacity with which they repelled every approach to attention on the part of those persons whom they so politely termed their *gaolers*.

But this tranquil state of things lasted, as we have stated, but a short time; the quarrels of Napoleon's attendants, the eternal question of title and etiquette, and, as it has been with great probability suggested, the desire to keep up an interest in Europe by any means whatever, soon produced hostility. The complaints of the French party were loud and vehement. According to Las Cases they were oppressed

and insulted in every way that ingenuity could devise; and in order to prove to the world the amount of injury inflicted upon them, he sums up in a page or two of his journal, all the insults of Admiral Cockburn, who was governor of the island until April, 1816, when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived. First he adduces the unpardonable familiarity which the admiral assumed towards them, without, as he says, any encouragement from them, and secondly, the more unpardonable familiarity towards the Emperor, whom he styled "general," instead of giving him the imperial title. We may very readily excuse the second grievance in a worshipper of Napoleon, but the first complaint is sufficiently amusing: the British admiral had no idea how far he was presuming when he spoke with familiarity to the Count Las Cases. The smallness of the apartments at Briars (selected, be it observed, by Napoleon himself) is the next insult mentioned. The sentinels placed in the neighbourhood of the residence, and the supervision maintained over the suite generally, takes up a large share in the list. Las Cases next dwells on the caprice of the admiral in granting Napoleon permission to ride about the island without being accompanied by a guard, and afterwards withdrawing it; but he does not state the fact, that the permission was granted on the condition that Napoleon should take no steps to open communications with the inhabitants, and that he violated this condition on the very first opportunity. Another accusation is, that the admiral always chose to visit at the most unseasonable hours, when he knew Napoleon would not see him, and that he even directed those strangers who visited the island to choose the most improper time for paying their respects. This accusation can only be characterized as too absurd for belief, and even if it were true, Las Cases could not possibly know it. He inconsistently concludes with observing, that all these grievances were rather in form than in fact; that the admiral was capable of delicate and generous feelings, but that he was capricious, irascible, and overbearing; that as a *gaoler* he was mild, humane, and generous, but as a host generally unpolite, and often something worse. He states, subsequently, that the conduct of the admiral had never been of a nature to wound their feelings.

A great deal of pains has been taken by Napoleon's adherents and others, to blacken the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to make it appear that his sole object was to harass Napoleon and to make his life miserable. Now, although it may be questioned whether Sir H. Lowe was the proper person to be placed in the delicate situation of guard over the fallen Emperor, there is no doubt that quarrels and complaints began long before that officer reached the island; and the character of those complaints will show that at best the prisoners were persons very difficult to satisfy. Their detention at Briars was one of the first causes of complaint. It was stated

that the Emperor was very ill there, that he was confined in a cage with no attendance, that his suite was kept from him, and that he was deprived of exercise. A few pages further in the journal of Las Cases we find the Emperor in good health, and as soon as it was announced that Longwood was ready to receive him, then it was urged that the *gaolers* wished to compel him to go against his will, that they desired to push their authority to the utmost, that the smell of the paint at Longwood was very disagreeable, &c. Napoleon himself was quite ready to go, and seemed much vexed when Count Bertrand and General Gourgaud arrived from Longwood with the intelligence that the place was as yet uninhabitable. His displeasure, however, was much more seriously excited by the appearance of Count Montholon with the information that all was ready at Longwood within a few minutes after receiving the contrary accounts from Bertrand and Gourgaud. He probably perceived that he was trifled with by his attendants, who endeavoured to make him believe that which suited their own convenience. We may also remark that the systematic opposition which was carried to such great length against Sir H. Lowe had begun during the stay of Admiral Cockburn. His visits were refused; he was accused of caprice, arrogance, impertinence, and petty insolence, and he was nicknamed *the shark* by Napoleon himself; his own calmness alone probably prevented more violent ebullitions.

The wooden house arrived at last, and the governor waited on Napoleon to consult with him how and where it should be erected. Las Cases, who heard the dispute in an adjoining room, says that it was long and clamorous. He gives the details in Napoleon's own words, and we have here the advantage of comparing his statement with the account transmitted by Sir Hudson Lowe to the British government, dated 17th May, 1816. The two accounts vary but little. Napoleon admits that he was thrown quite out of temper, that he received the governor with his stormy countenance, looked furiously at him, and made no reply to his information of the arrival of the house, but by a significant look. He told him that he wanted nothing, nor would receive any thing at his hands; that he supposed he was to be put to death by poison or the sword; the poison would be difficult to administer, but he had the means of doing it with the sword. The sanctuary of his abode should not be violated, and the troops should not enter his house but by trampling on his corpse. He then alluded to an invitation sent to him by Sir H. Lowe to meet Lady Loudon at his house, and said there could not be an act of more refined cruelty than inviting him to his table by the title of General, to make him an object of ridicule or amusement to his guests. What right had he to call him General Bonaparte? He would not be deprived of his dignity by him, nor by any one in the world. He certainly should have condescended to visit Lady Loudon, had she been within his

limits, as he did not stand upon strict etiquette with a woman, but he should have deemed that he was conferring an honour upon her. He would not consider himself a prisoner of war, but was placed in his present position by the most horrible breach of confidence. After a few more words, he dismissed the governor, without once more alluding to the house which was the object of the visit. The fate of this unfortunate house may be mentioned here. It was erected after a great many disputes, but was unfortunately surrounded by a sunk fence, and ornamental railing. This was immediately connected in Napoleon's mind with the idea of a fortification; it was impossible to remove the impression, that the ditch and palisade were intended to secure his person. As soon as the objection was made known, Sir Hudson Lowe ordered the ground to be levelled and the rails taken away. But before this was quite completed, Napoleon's health was too much destroyed to permit his removal, and the house was never occupied.

Napoleon seems to have felt that he had been too violent in his conduct: he admitted when at table with his suite a few days after, that he had behaved very ill, and that in any other situation he should blush for what he had done. "I could have wished, for his sake," he said, "to see him evince a little anger, or pull the door violently after him when he went away." These few words let us into a good deal of Napoleon's character: he liked to intimidate, but his vehement language was received with a calmness and resolute forbearance, to which he was quite unaccustomed; and he consequently grew more angry, as his anger was less regarded.

The specimens here given of the disputes with Sir H. Lowe may probably suffice: a great many more are furnished by Las Cases, O'Meara, and other partisans of Napoleon, and even they always make him the aggressor. Napoleon himself in his cooler moments seemed to admit this; after the most violent quarrel with the governor, that of the 13th of August, which utterly put an end to any thing like decent civility between the parties, he allowed that he had used the governor very ill, that he repeatedly and purposely offended him, and that Sir H. Lowe had not in a single instance shown a want of respect, except perhaps that he retired too abruptly.

Great complaints were made of the scanty way in which the table of the exiles was supplied; and it was again and again alleged by them that they had scarcely any thing to eat. The wine, too, was said to be execrable; so bad, that in fact it could not be drunk; and, of such stuff as it was, only one bottle a-day was allowed to each person—an allowance which Las Cases calls ridiculously small. In this state of almost starvation, Napoleon resolved to dispose of his plate in monthly proportions; and as he knew that some East India captains had offered as much as a hundred guineas for a single plate, in order

to preserve a memorial of him, he determined that what was sold should be broken up, the arms erased, and no trace left which could show that they had ever been his. The only portions left uninjured were the little eagles with which some of the dish-covers were mounted. These last fragments were objects of veneration for the attendants of Napoleon; they were looked upon as relics, with a feeling at once melancholy and religious. When the moment came for breaking up the plate, Las Cases bears testimony to the painful emotions and real grief produced among the servants. They could not, without the utmost reluctance, bring themselves to apply the hammer to those objects of their veneration. This act confounded their ideas: it was to them a sacrilege, a desolation. Some of them, he concludes, even shed tears upon the occasion.

In conversation with Las Cases upon one occasion, Napoleon, on being told that his follower in his journal characterized the battle of Waterloo as another BATTLE OF SPURS, expressed himself with great impatience, and exclaimed, "What have you written? Erase it quickly, sir. A battle of spurs, indeed! What a calumny! Ah, my poor army," continued he; "brave soldiers! you never fought better!" And after some moments' pause, he added, with much feeling, "We have had traitors amongst us! May Heaven forgive them! But as for France, when will she recover from that perfidy?"

An answer which Napoleon one day gave to a question put to him by Mr. O'Meara, should be recorded. It being remarked that considerable surprise had been excited that during the height of his glory he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, he replied, "I considered that it would have produced great discontent among the people. If, for example, I had made one of my marshals Duke of Burgundy, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have caused great alarm in Burgundy, as they would conceive that some feudal rights and territory were attached to the title; and the nation hated the old nobility so much, that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal umbrage, which I, powerful as I was, dared not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to crush the old, and to satisfy the people that, as the greater part of those I created had sprung from themselves, every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke. I believe that I acted wrong in doing even this, as it impaired the system of equality, which pleased the people so much; but if I had created dukes with a French title, it would have been considered as a revival of the old feudal privileges with which the nation had been cursed so long."

In recording one of his visits to Napoleon, Mr. Warden details a very characteristic scene:

"On entering the room I observed the back of a sofa turned towards me; and, on advancing, I saw Napoleon lying at full

length on it, with his left arm hanging over the upper part. The glare of light was excluded by a Venetian blind, and before him there was a table covered with books. I could distinguish among them some volumes on the French revolution. The heat of the day had occasioned him to dismantle himself of coat and waistcoat. The moment his eye met mine, he started up, and welcomed me in the English language. I bowed in return. Stretching out his hand, he said, 'I have got a fever.' I immediately applied my hand to the wrist, and observing, both from the regularity of the pulsation and the jocular expression of his countenance, that he was amusing himself, I expressed my wish that his health might always remain the same. He then gave me a gentle tap on the cheek, with the back of his hand; and desired me to go into the middle of the room, as he had something to say to me. I now congratulated him on the preservation of his health, and complimented him on the progress he appeared to have made in the English language. 'I certainly enjoy,' he said, 'a very good state of health, which I attribute to a rigorous observance of regimen. My appetite is such that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day: but I am regular in my meals, and always leave off eating with an appetite: besides, I never, as you know, drink strong wines. With respect to the English language,' he continued, 'I have been very diligent: I now read your newspapers with ease; and must own, that they afford me no inconsiderable amusement. They are, occasionally, inconsistent, and sometimes abusive. In one paper I am called a *Liar,* in another a *Tyrant,* in a third a *Monster,* and, in one of them, which I really did not expect, I am described as a *Coward;* but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune; he did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and in the suspense of conflicting armies. No such thing. I wanted courage, it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains. The writer most certainly misunderstands me: I have, at least, too much courage for that. Your papers are influenced by party principles: what one praises the other will abuse; and so *vice versâ.* Those who live in the metropolis where they are published, can judge of passing events and transactions for themselves; but persons living at a distance from the capital, and particularly foreigners, must be at a loss to determine upon the real state of things, and the characters of public men, from the perusal of your journals.'

"'Nevertheless,' he observed, 'you appear to handle my character rather roughly; and more so since I have been in your power.' He asked me, to my great surprise, if I remembered the history of Captain Wright? I answered, 'Perfectly well; and it is a prevailing opinion in England that you ordered him

to be murdered in the Temple.' With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, 'For what object? Of all men, he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved on the trial of the conspirators in and about Paris? The heads of it he himself had landed on the French coast.' My curiosity was at this moment evident. 'Listen,' continued Napoleon, 'and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the west coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Raoul, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted; and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken near l'Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes. General Julian, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognised Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this circumstance was instantly transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned to interrogate the crew separately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory; but, at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown on the subject. He stated that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow, who was called *Pichegru*. Thus a clue was found that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation a second time into a state of revolution. Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple, there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessaries of this treasonable design to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object.' He again and again most solemnly asserted that Captain Wright died in the Temple by his own hand, as described in the Moniteur, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed. At the same time, he stated, that his assertion was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this inquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Ebrington to Elba; and he added, 'That nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business.'"

## CHAPTER XVI.

### 1817.

#### RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The island of St. Helena is regularly visited by East India ships on the return voyage, which touch there to take in water, and to leave gunpowder for the use of the garrison. On such occasions, there were always persons anxious to pay a visit to the renowned captive. The regulation of those visits was calculated to protect Napoleon from being annoyed by the idle curiosity of strangers, to which he professed a great aversion. Such persons as wished to wait upon him, were in the first place obliged to apply to the governor, by whom their names were forwarded to Count Bertrand. This gentleman, as grand-marshal of the household, communicated the wishes of those persons to Napoleon, and in case of a favourable reply, fixed the hour for an interview.

Those visiters whom Napoleon admitted, were chiefly persons of rank and distinction, travellers from distant countries, or men who had distinguished themselves in the scientific world, and who could communicate interesting information in exchange for the gratification they received. Some of those persons who were admitted to interviews with him, have published narratives of their conversation, and all agree in extolling the extreme grace, propriety, and appearance of benevolence manifested by Bonaparte while holding these levees. His questions were always put with great tact, and on some subject with which the person interrogated was well acquainted, so as to induce him to bring forth any new or curious information of which he might be possessed.

In the month of July, 1817, he had an interview of some length with Lord Amherst, and the gentlemen composing the embassy to China, who were then on their return from that country. He addressed a considerable part of his conversation, or rather declamation, to Mr. Ellis, who accompanied Lord Amherst to China as commissioner. He spoke of Russia, whose

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NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

power he considered formidable to the liberties of Europe, and against whose encroachments he had himself always supported the Turks, although he hated them as barbarians. "Alexander," he said, "may have whatever army he pleases. Unlike the French and English, the subjects of the Russian empire improve their condition by becoming soldiers. If I called on a Frenchman to quit his country, I required him to abandon his happiness. The Russian, on the contrary, is a slave while a peasant, and becomes free and respectable when a soldier. A Frenchman, leaving his country, always changes for the worse, while Germany, France, and Italy, are all superior to the native country of the Russians." He then took a rapid review of the military character of the principal nations of Europe, and decided that the English and French were the only troops whose discipline and moral qualities deserved notice. He said the Austrians and Prussians were very inferior, and that real strength and efficiency were confined to the French and English. The English troops, however, he remarked, were too limited in number ever to render England a great military nation, notwithstanding their bravery. Her real strength was in her naval superiority, and the maintenance of a monopoly of commerce. "While your naval pre-eminence remains," said he, "you may blockade all Europe. I well know the effect of blockade. With two small wooden machines, you distress a line of coast, and place a country in the situation of a body rubbed over with oil, and thus deprived of the natural perspiration." He several times repeated the remark that England was too small ever to be a military nation, and added that military affairs were not in the genius of the English people. "None but the very dregs of the nation enlist in your army; the profession is not liked."

This frequent repetition of set phrases has often been remarked by those who have heard Napoleon speak. Mr. Ellis considered him in the short interview he had with him, to possess much eloquence; he abounded in that sort of oracular confidence, so well adapted to produce an impression upon persons already prepared to look up to him. He was little studious of arrangement, but poured out his ideas with a rapidity of language, almost equal to the rapidity of their succession in the mind. His manner is described by Mr. Ellis to have been pleasing, and to possess a mixture of simplicity and conscious superiority, such as he had never witnessed. He considered the expression of his countenance to be more intellectual than commanding, and observed that his person, so far from being overgrown with corpulency, seemed fully equal to the endurance of the greatest exertion. "I should say, that he was as fit as ever to go through a campaign, and that, considering his age, he was not unusually corpulent." It had been observed by Las Cases, who took great pains to teach Napoleon enough of English to read an English newspaper, that he would never try to pronounce

English in any other way than by giving all our letters the sound they have in the French alphabet, which of course rendered it unintelligible. The effect of this resolution was remarked by Mr. Ellis. "Bonaparte miscals English names and words more than any foreigner I ever before heard, who had pretensions to a knowledge of the language." He concludes, "Notwithstanding his reading, and the attention he has probably paid to the subject, he seems little acquainted with the nature of our domestic policy. His plans, like his practice, are all despotic, and are formed without adverting to constitutional restrictions."

A few weeks after this interview, Napoleon received another interesting visit from Captain Basil Hall, who commanded the Lyra, which accompanied the embassy of Lord Amherst to China. Napoleon at once recognised the name of Hall: he remembered having seen his father, Sir James Hall, who had visited the military academy of Brienne when Napoleon was studying there. The circumstance of his recollecting a private individual after the lapse of so many years, and the intervention of so many momentous events, was explained by him. "It is not surprising. Your father was the first Englishman I ever saw; and I have recollected him all my life on that account." He was afterwards very minute in his inquiries respecting the Edinburgh Royal Society, of which body Sir James had been long president.

The conversation then turned upon the Loo-Choo Islands, which Captain Hall had re-discovered, whilst cruising about in the China Seas, after having accompanied Lord Amherst. Bonaparte's inquiries were very close upon this subject, and his surprise at the singular narrative told by the captain was strongly expressed.

The following is Captain Hall's interesting account of this conversation:

"Having settled where the island lay, he cross-questioned me about the inhabitants with a closeness—I may call it a severity of investigation—which far exceeds every thing I have met with in any other instance. His questions were not by any means put at random, but each one had some definite reference to that which preceded it, or was about to follow. I felt in a short time so completely exposed to his view, that it would have been impossible to have concealed or qualified the smallest particular. Such, indeed, was the rapidity of his apprehension of the subjects which interested him, and the astonishing ease with which he arranged and generalized the few points of information I gave him, that he sometimes outstripped my narrative, saw the conclusion I was coming to before I spoke it, and fairly robbed me of my story.

"Several circumstances, however, respecting the Loo-Choo people, surprised even him a good deal; and I had the satisfac-

tion of seeing him more than once completely perplexed, and unable to account for the phenomena which I related. Nothing struck him so much as their having no arms. '*Point d'armes!*' he exclaimed, '*c'est à dire points de canons—ils ont des fusils?*' —'Not even muskets,' I replied. '*Eh bien donc—des lances, ou, au moins, des arcs et des flèches?*' I told him they had neither one nor other. '*Ni poignards?*' cried he, with increasing vehemence. 'No, none.'—'*Mais!*' said Bonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch—'*Mais! sans armes, comment se bat-on?*' I could only reply, that as far as we had been able to discover, they had never had any wars, but remained in a state of internal and external peace. 'No wars!' cried he, with a scornful and incredulous expression, as if the existence of any people under the sun without wars was a monstrous anomaly.

"In like manner, but without being so much moved, he seemed to discredit the account I gave him of their having no money, and of their setting no value upon our silver or gold coins. After hearing these facts stated, he mused for some time, muttering to himself, in a low tone, 'Not know the use of money —are careless about gold and silver.' Then looking up, he asked, sharply, 'How, then, did you contrive to pay these strangest of all people for the bullocks and other good things which they seem to have sent on board in such quantities?' When I informed him that we could not prevail upon the people of Loo-Choo to receive payment of any kind, he expressed great surprise at their liberality, and made me repeat to him twice, the list of things with which we were supplied by these hospitable islanders."

The conversation proceeded with equal spirit, and it is singular to remark the acuteness of Napoleon, in seizing upon the most remarkable and interesting facts, notwithstanding the hurry of a casual conversation. The low state of the priesthood in Loo-Choo was a subject which he dwelt on without coming to any satisfactory explanation. Captain Hall illustrated the ignorance of the people of Loo-Choo with respect to all the world, save Japan and China, by saying they knew nothing of Europe at all—knew nothing of France and England—and never had even heard of his Majesty; at which last proof of their absolute seclusion from the world, Napoleon laughed heartily. During the whole interview, Napoleon waited with the utmost patience until his questions were replied to, inquired with earnestness into every subject of interest, and made naturally a most favourable impression on his visiter.

"Bonaparte," says this acute traveller, "struck me as differing considerably from the pictures and busts I had seen of him. His face and figure looked much broader and more square, larger, indeed, in every way, than any representation I had met with. His corpulency, at this time, universally reported to be

excessive, was by no means remarkable. His flesh looked, on the contrary, firm and muscular. There was not the least trace of colour in his cheeks; in fact, his skin was more like marble than ordinary flesh. Not the smallest trace of a wrinkle was discernible on his brow, nor an approach to a furrow on any part of his countenance. His health and spirits, judging from appearances, were excellent; though at this period it was generally believed in England, that he was fast sinking under a complication of diseases, and that his spirits were entirely gone. His manner of speaking was rather slow than otherwise, and perfectly distinct: he waited with great patience and kindness for my answers to his questions, and a reference to Count Bertrand was necessary only once during the whole conversation. The brilliant and sometimes dazzling expression of his eye could not be overlooked. It was not, however, a permanent lustre, for it was only remarkable when he was excited by some point of particular interest. It is impossible to imagine an expression ofmore entire mildness, I may almost call it of benignity and kindness, than that which played over his features during the whole interview. If, therefore, he were at this time out of health and in low spirits, his power of self-command must have been even more extraordinary than is generally supposed; for his whole deportment, his conversation, and the expression of his countenance, indicated a frame in perfect health and a mind at ease."

The date of this meeting was 13th of August, 1817.

The manner assumed by Napoleon in the occasional interviews he had with such visiters, was so very opposite to that which he constantly maintained towards the authorities in whose custody he was placed, that we can scarcely doubt he was acting a part at least in one of those situations. It was suggested by Mr. Ellis that either he wished by means of his continual complaints to keep alive his interest in England, where he flattered himself there was a party favourable to him, or that his troubled mind found an occupation in the annoyance which he caused to the governor. Every attempt at conciliation on the part of Sir Hudson furnished fresh causes for irritation. He sent fowling-pieces to Longwood, and the thanks returned were a reply from Napoleon that it was an insult to send fowling-pieces where there was no game. An invitation to a ball was resented vehemently, and descanted upon by the French party as a great offence. He at one time sent a variety of clothes and other articles received from England, which he imagined might be useful at Longwood. Great offence was taken at this; they were treated, they said, like paupers; the articles ought to have been left at the governor's house, and a list to be sent respectfully to the household, stating that such things were at their command if they wanted them.

An opinion has already been expressed that much of this

# COLUMN OF THE GRAND ARMY, PLACE VENDOME.

This column, which was completed in 1833, by a statue of Napoleon being placed at its summit, was originally raised as a memorial of the campaign of 1805. When the first stone was laid, on the site formerly occupied by the statue of Louis XIV., it was intended to record the adherence of the French people to the establishment of the empire; but after the battle of Austerlitz, M. Denon proposed to Napoleon, to alter the destination of the departmental column, and to consecrate it to the memory of the various triumphs of the French army. This project was agreed to, and executed in less than four years.

The foundations of Louis's statue, built upon piles of about thirty feet in length, being judged sufficiently solid to support this enormous mass, the column was accordingly raised thereon.

Its height is so lofty that the summit may be seen in all the environs and nearly in every part of Paris.

The south front is, as the three others, divided into two compartments; in the centre is the door leading to the interior staircase, which consists of one hundred and seventy-six steps.

The door is of massy bronze, and seven feet in height, above which we read the following inscription, composed by Visconti :—

NEAPOLIO. IMP. AVG.

MONUMENTUM. BELLI. GERMANICI

ANNO M.DCCCV.

TRIMESTRI. SPATIO. DVCTV SVO PROFLIGATI.

EX: AERE CAPTO

GLORIÆ. EXERCITVS. MAXIMVS. DICAVIT.*

The bas reliefs of the column have been executed from the designs of M. Bergeret. The inscription on the plinth of the capital is as follows :—

"Monument élevé à la gloire de la grand armée, par Napoleon le Grand, commencé le xxv. Août 1806; sous la direction de D. V. Denon, M. M. J. B. Lepére, et L. Gondoin, architectes."

* "This monument was dedicated to the glory of the Grand Army, by the august Emperor Napoleon. It is formed of the brass taken from the enemy during the German campaign, which, under his direction, was terminated in 1805, in the space of three months."

annoyance was due to the offended pride of Napoleon's attendants, who were at first certainly far more captious than himself. He admitted as much himself on one occasion in a conversation with O'Meara. He said, "Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against Sir Hudson, and contributed materially towards forming the impressions existing upon my mind." He attributed this to the feeling mind of Las Cases, which he said was peculiarly sensible of the ill-treatment Napoleon and himself had been subjected to. Sir Hudson also felt this, and remarked, like Sir George Cockburn, on more than one occasion, that he always found Napoleon himself more reasonable than the persons about him.

The claim put forth by Napoleon, to be still addressed by his title of Emperor, was another great source of the annoyances, both to himself and all around him. This was adhered to with great tenacity, and insisted upon on occasions which would hardly have been imagined calculated to give rise to such a claim. Many instances of this have been adduced, and Napoleon owned to O'Meara, that one half of his vexations at St. Helena arose from it. He seemed to impute an almost sacred character to the title: majesty was not to be profaned, it was not to be used but to himself, even in jest. A curious instance of his feeling on this point is given by Las Cases. "In his moments of goodhumoured familiarity, the Emperor was accustomed to salute me with all sorts of titles, such as 'Good morning, Monseigneur, how is your Excellency?' &c. One evening, when I was about to enter the drawing-room, the usher opened the door for me, and at the same moment the door of the Emperor's apartment also opened, and he came out. We both met together, and in a fit of abstraction he stopped me, and seizing me by the ear, said, playfully, 'Well, where is your Majesty going?' But the words had no sooner been uttered than he immediately let go my ear, and, assuming a grave expression of countenance, began to talk to me on some serious topic. I had, it is true, learned to close my ears when it was necessary; but the Emperor was evidently sorry for having suffered the expression, 'your Majesty,' to escape him. He seemed to think that though other titles might be used in jest, yet the case was very different with the one he had just employed; both on account of its own peculiar nature, and the circumstances in which we were placed. Be this as it may, the reader may form what conjecture he pleases; I merely relate the fact."

When offence is determined to be taken, any thing is sufficient to blow the flame, and the occasional misapprehensions caused by an imperfect knowledge of the language spoken by one of the parties was an occasional cause of irritation. Several instances of the sort appear in the journals published by persons who were in attendance on Napoleon; among others, one is related in O'Meara's journal, by which Napoleon was greatly

offended. A Pole in Napoleon's service, named Piontkowski, had accompanied young Las Cases to James-Town; while they were walking about, the servant who held their horses got drunk, and was evidently unable to take care of them, and even of himself. Sir Thomas Reade, seeing him in this state, thought it an act of civility to order his own servant to take charge of the horses, and to attend upon Las Cases with them. Upon this, young Las Cases was greatly enraged, expressed himself with great violence, and reported at Longwood that he had been compelled to leave the town by the orders of Sir Thomas Reade.

When Napoleon had once formed an opinion, no argument could shake it; he never listened to what was said by his opponent, and, in fact, studiously avoided every means by which he might be convicted of error. Once at odds with the governor, he afterwards held no terms of decency towards him. He was branded with every opprobrious name: liar, town hangman, were common epithets. He was characterized as bearing the mark of Cain on his forehead: he was like the man who heated the bar of iron red-hot, by which Edward was murdered in Berkeley castle. His retiring after presenting Lord Amherst to Napoleon was the mark of a low mind; the ornamental rails of iron which were to be placed round the dwelling of Napoleon, were a new species of confinement invented by the ferocious gaoler, in spite of the evidence of O'Meara that such palisades frequently surrounded gentlemen's houses in England.

Another occasion of annoyance was the resolution of Napoleon not upon any terms to acknowledge himself a prisoner, and his refusal to submit to such regulations as would render his captivity less burdensome. More than once the attendance of an officer was offered to be discontinued if he would allow himself to be seen once every day, and promise to take no means of escaping. "If he were to give me the whole of the island," said Napoleon, "on condition that I would pledge my word not to attempt an escape, I would not accept of it; because it would be equivalent to acknowledging myself a prisoner, although at the same time I would not make the attempt. I am here by force, and not by right. If I had been taken at Waterloo, perhaps I might have had no hesitation in accepting it, although even in that case it would be contrary to the law of nations, as now there is no war. If they were to offer me permission to reside in England on similar conditions, I would refuse it." The very idea of exhibiting himself to an officer every day, though but for a moment, was repelled with indignation. He even kept loaded pistols to shoot any person who should attempt it. It is stated in a note in O'Meara's journal, that "the Emperor was so firmly impressed with the idea that an attempt would be made forcibly to intrude on his privacy, that from a short time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn, he always kept four or five pair of loaded pistols, and some swords in his apart-

ment, with which he was determined to despatch the first who entered against his will." It seems this practice was continued to his death. In a violent tirade against "the wretch," addressed to Antommarchi soon after his arrival, he said, "He sent me his satellites twice a-day. Reade and Wynyard, his confidential officers, beset these miserable cabins, and wanted to penetrate into my apartments; but I caused the door to be barricaded, loaded my guns and my pistols, and have kept them so ever since, and swore that I would blow out the brains of the first that violated my asylum. I sent to inform the governor that my patience was exhausted, and my mind fully made up to despatch the first of his people who should pass the threshold of my door."

These violent scenes and impossible claims demonstrate the difficulty of any attempts at a conciliatory conduct on the part of the governor, when all the feelings of the governed were moving in a decidedly opposite tendency: and perhaps the words of Las Cases, in a long letter addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe on his departure from St. Helena, will best explain the respective feelings of the parties. He expresses himself in the following terms: "I am free to confess, that since I have been under your immediate control, I have found myself surrounded by very unexpected attentions. I have witnessed daily some agreeable alterations which I should not have expected. I was forcibly struck with this. Might it not proceed, said I, from the facility of my disposition? Could I have been mistaken at Longwood? Can I be mistaken here? Surely not. You did not appear to me the same man. I no longer saw you, as I have already said, through the blood-stained veil. At last I have resolved the problem: here I find myself on a level with you: every thing has harmonized between us: whereas you have never been in harmony for a single moment with that gigantic scale of Longwood, the magnitude of which you either will not perceive, or obstinately endeavour to diminish, rather than raise yourself to its proportions." Here we are candidly informed, that if Sir H. Lowe had contented himself with being the slave of the prisoner who was placed under his control, instead of watching over him, to prevent his escape, all would have been well. Las Cases leaves no doubt of the inordinate expectations formed by them. He states what his own conduct would have been had he been governor of St. Helena. "I should have felt the importance and extent of the duty imposed upon me, and I should have fulfilled it. I should have answered for the safety of my captive, but having secured that point, I should not have left him with a wish ungratified: it would not have been enough to possess his esteem, I should have obliged him to love me. I should not have approached his chains but on my knees."

With such expectations and so little likelihood of their being gratified, it cannot be a subject of surprise that the last days of

Napoleon, instead of closing at least with quiet and dignity, were passed in petty squabbles about trifles, in constant murmurings at what was evidently unavoidable, and in perpetual aspirations after the splendour that was gone, and could never by possibility return.

Napoleon continued to pass the mornings in dictating his memoirs, and the evenings in reading or conversation. He grew fonder of Racine; but his favourite was Corneille. He repeated that had he lived in his time, he would have made him a prince. He had a distaste to Voltaire; and found considerable fault with his dramas, perhaps justly, as conveying opinions rather than sentiments. He criticised his *Mahomet*, and said he had made him merely an impostor and a tyrant, without representing him as a great man. This was owing to Voltaire's religious and political antipathies; for those who are free from common prejudices, get others of their own in their stead, to which they are equally bigoted, and which they bring forward on all occasions. When the evening passed off in conversation without having recourse to books, he considered it a point gained. Some one having asked the Emperor which was the greatest battle that he had fought, he replied, it was difficult to answer that question without inquiring what was implied by the greatest battle. "Mine," continued he, "cannot be judged of separately: they formed a portion of extensive plans. They must therefore be estimated by their consequences. The battle of Marengo, which was so long undecided, procured for us the command of all Italy. Ulm annihilated a whole army: Jena laid the whole Prussian monarchy at our feet; Friedland opened the Russian empire to us; and Eckmuhl decided the fate of a war. The battle of the Moskwa was that in which the greatest talent was displayed, and by which we obtained the fewest advantages. Waterloo, where every thing failed, would, had victory crowned our efforts, have saved France and given peace to Europe." Madame Montholon having inquired what troops he considered the best, "Those which are victorious, madam," replied the Emperor. "But," added he, "soldiers are capricious and inconstant, like you ladies. The best troops were the Carthaginians under Hannibal; the Romans under the Scipios; the Macedonians under Alexander; and the Prussians under Frederick." He thought, however, that the French soldiers were of all others those which could most easily be rendered the best, and preserved so. "With my complete guard of forty or fifty thousand men, I would have undertaken to march through Europe. It is perhaps possible to produce troops as good as those that composed my army of Italy and Austerlitz; but certainly none can ever surpass them." Napoleon, who had conversed for a considerable time on a subject so peculiarly interesting to him, suddenly recollecting himself, asked what it was o'clock. Being told it was eleven,

"Well," said he, rising, "we at least have the merit of having got through the evening without the help either of tragedy or comedy."

The anniversary of the battle of Waterloo produced a visible impression on the Emperor. "Incomprehensible day!" said he, dejectedly, "concurrence of unheard-of fatalities! Grouchy, Ney, d'Erlon—was there treachery or was it merely misfortune? Alas! poor France!" Here he covered his eyes with his hands. "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do was accomplished! All was not lost until the moment when all had succeeded." A short time afterwards, resuming the subject, he exclaimed, "In that extraordinary campaign, thrice, in less than a week, I saw the certain triumph of France slip through my fingers. Had it not been for a traitor, I should have annihilated the enemy at the outset of the campaign. I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my left wing had only done its duty. I should have destroyed him again at Waterloo, if my right had seconded me.—Singular defeat, by which, notwithstanding the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of the conquered has not suffered!"

It has been generally supposed, that Napoleon was a believer in the doctrine of predestination. The following conversation with Las Cases clearly decides that point. "Pray," said he, "am I not thought to be given to a belief in predestination?"—"Yes, sire; at least by many people."—"Well, well! let them say what they please, one may sometimes be tempted to act a part, and it may occasionally be useful. But what are men? How much easier is it to occupy their attention and to strike their imaginations by absurdities than by rational ideas! But can a man of sound sense listen for one moment to such a doctrine? Either predestination admits the existence of free-will, or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of predetermined result can that be which a simple resolution, a step, a word, may alter or modify *ad infinitum?* If predestination, on the contrary, rejects the existence of free-will, it is quite another question; in that case, a child need only be thrown into its cradle as soon as it is born; there is no necessity for bestowing the least care upon it; for if it be irrevocably decreed that it is to live, it will grow though no food should be given to it. You observe that such a doctrine cannot be maintained: predestination is but a word without meaning. The Turks themselves, the professors of predestination, are not convinced of the doctrine; for in that case medicine would not exist in Turkey; and a man residing in a third floor would not take the trouble of going down stairs, but would immediately throw himself out of the window. You see to what a string of absurdities that will lead."

Las Cases remarks, that whenever the Emperor took up any subject, if he became in the least animated, his language was fit to be printed. On one occasion, when an English news-

paper spoke of the immense treasures which Napoleon must possess, and which he no doubt concealed, he observed, "They are great, it is true, but they are all exposed to light;" and he then enumerated with much eloquence the great public works he had executed, and the numerous improvements he had effected in France. Upon another occasion, Napoleon reading in an English newspaper Lord Castlereagh's statement that he had declared at St. Helena, he never would have made peace with England but with the view to deceive her, take her by surprise, and destroy her; and that if the French army was attached to Napoleon, it was because he gave the daughters of the richest French families in marriage to his soldiers, he exclaimed indignantly, "These calumnies uttered against a man who is not allowed to make his voice heard in answer to them, will be disbelieved by all well-educated and well-disposed persons. When I was seated on the throne of France, then no doubt my enemies had a right to say whatever they pleased; my actions were public, and were a sufficient refutation; but to utter new and unfounded calumnies against me at the present moment, is an act of the greatest meanness and cowardice, which will fail to produce the end proposed. Numberless libels have been and are still published every day; but they do no harm. Sixty millions of men of the most polished nations in the world raise their voices to confute them; and fifty thousand Englishmen, who are now travelling on the continent, will on their return home publish the truth to the people of Great Britain, who will be ashamed at having been so grossly deceived. As for the bill, by virtue of which they have exiled me to this rock, it is an act of proscription similar to those of Sylla," said he, "and still more atrocious. The Romans unrelentingly pursued Hannibal to the frontier of Bithynia; and Flaminius obtained from King Prusias the death of that soldier; yet at Rome Flaminius was accused of having acted thus in order to gratify his personal hatred. It was in vain that he alleged in his defence that Hannibal, still in the vigour of life, might again prove a dangerous enemy, and that his death was necessary: a thousand voices were raised and unanswered, that unjust and ungenerous actions can never promote the welfare of a great nation; and that upon such pretences as that now stated, murder, poisoning, and every species of crime might be justified. The succeeding generations reproached their ancestors with this base act; they would have given any thing to have such a stain effaced; and since the restoration of letters, every subsequent age has added its imprecations to those uttered by Hannibal when he drank the fatal cup: he cursed Rome, who, whilst her fleets and legions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, wreaked her vengeance upon one man, alone and unprotected, because she feared or pretended to fear him. The Romans, however, never violated the rights of hos-

pitality. Sylla found an asylum in the house of Marius. Flaminius did not, before he proscribed Hannibal, receive him on board his ship, and declare that he had orders to treat him favourably: the Roman fleet did not convey him to the port of Ostia; and Hannibal, instead of placing himself under the protection of the Romans, preferred trusting his person to a King of Asia. At the moment when he was banished, he was not under the protection of the Roman flag; he was under the banners of a king who was an enemy to Rome. If in future ages a King of England should be one day brought before the awful tribunal of the nation, his defenders will urge in his behalf the sacred character of a king, the respect due to the throne, to all crowned heads, to the *anointed of the Lord!* But his accusers will have a right to answer thus: One of the ancestors of this king whom you defend, banished a man who was his guest, in time of peace; afraid to put him to death in the face of a nation governed by positive laws and by regular and public forms, he exposed his victim on an unwholesome rock, situated in the midst of the ocean, where this guest perished after a protracted agony, a prey to the climate, to want, to insults of every kind! Nevertheless that guest was also a great sovereign, raised to the throne on the shields of thirty-six millions of citizens; he was master of almost every capital in Europe; the most powerful kings composed his court; he was generous towards all; he was during twenty years the arbiter of nations; his family was allied to every reigning family, even to that of England; he was twice the *anointed of the Lord,* twice consecrated by the august ceremonies of religion!"

The following traits are characteristic of the man. In the common intercourse of life and his familiar conversation, Napoleon mutilated the names most familiar to him, even French names: yet this would not have occurred on any public occasion. He has been heard many times during his walks to repeat the celebrated speech of Augustus in Corneille's tragedy; and he has never missed saying, "Take a seat, Sylla," instead of Cinna. He would frequently create names according to his fancy; and when he had once adopted them, they remained fixed in his mind, although they were pronounced properly a hundred times a-day in his hearing; but he would have been struck if others had used them as he had altered them.* It was the same thing with respect to orthography: in general, he did not attend to it: yet if the copies which were made contained any faults of spelling, he would have complained of it. One day

* This account of him in his latter years forcibly throws us back to the description of his early childhood, with his stockings down about his heels, and fighting with all those who noticed it, or repeated the verses—

"Napoleone a mezza calzetta
Fa l' amore di Giacominetta?"

Napoleon said to Las Cases, "Your orthography is not correct, is it?" This question gave occasion to a sarcastic smile from a person who stood near, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued, "At least, I suppose it is not; for a man occupied with important public business, a minister for instance, cannot, and need not, attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace them: he has only time to place his points; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words, and let the scribes make it out afterwards." He indeed left a great deal for the copyists to do: he was their torment: his handwriting actually resembled hieroglyphics: he often could not decipher it himself. Las Cases's son was one day reading to him a chapter of the Campaign of Italy: on a sudden he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said Napoleon, "cannot read his own handwriting."—"It is not mine, sire."—"And whose, then?"—"Your majesty's."—"How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, "He is right: I cannot tell myself what is written." He has often sent the copyists to Las Cases that he should endeavour to read what he had himself been unable to decipher.

Not long after their arrival at St. Helena, Madame Bertrand gave birth to a son, and when Napoleon went to visit her, she said, "I have the honour of presenting to your majesty the first French subject who has entered Longwood without the permission of Lord Bathurst."

In reference to the British embassy to China, Napoleon remarked to O'Meara that he thought the English ministers had acted wrongly in not ordering him to comply with the customs of the place he was sent to, as otherwise they ought not to have sent him at all. "I observed," says Mr. O'Meara, "that the English would consider it as debasing to the nation, if Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the manner required; that if such a point were conceded, the Chinese would probably not be contented, and would require similar ceremonies to be performed to those insisted upon by the Japanese, and so disgracefully complied with by the Dutch." Napoleon replied, "It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief: the other is a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers only. It is my opinion, that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, you kiss the king's hand at court. Such a thing in France would be looked upon as ridiculous, and the person who did it would be held up to public scorn: but still the French ambassador who performed it in England would

not be considered as having degraded himself. In England, some hundred years back, the king was served kneeling: the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy, you kiss the pope's toe: yet it is not considered as a degradation. A man who goes into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there; and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to submit to such ceremonies before the Emperor of China as are performed by the first mandarins of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such homage as was paid to his own king. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they are to perform certain ceremonies, because such are practised in England. If I had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed by the first mandarins before the emperor, and, if required, to do the same himself, and no more. You ought to have treated those barbarians like children, and to have humoured them, as if you had sent an ambassador to the moon. I recollect having had a conversation on the subject at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander, when we were very good friends. He asked my opinion and advice: I gave it him nearly as I have done to you. He was perfectly convinced; and wrote a reprimand to his ambassador for not having complied with the ceremonies required from him."

"'I always had a high opinion of your seamen,' said Napoleon one day, in a conversation arising out of our expedition to Algiers. 'When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Maria Louisa, we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart, and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen among them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats together so that I might pass over. They answered that it was possible, but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the others had pronounced to be impossible; and I crossed before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time.'"

In the beginning of 1817 the English newspapers were full of

the distresses experienced in this country. Bonaparte often adverted in forcible terms to this subject, and on one occasion remarked, "All your miseries I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of your ministry. What would those Englishmen who lived a hundred years ago say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your amazing successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be told that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated; that on the contrary you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence? When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, when Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power obtained an increase of territory, why not England, who was the main organ of all the success? Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburg, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts* for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hateful to the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your own trade. For although it is a great point for you that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactures, and consequently would become a warehouse for yours, whence a prodigious influx might be kept up on the continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been annexed to Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of its own subjects to those of a stranger, and the whole of Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independently of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. It would have been much better to give it to Austria; or why not have made it an independent country, and placed an English prince on the throne? Now let us see the position you actually stand in. You are nearly as much shut out from the continent as when I reigned and promulgated the continental system. I ask you what peace dictated by me, had I been victorious, could have been more prejudicial in its effects for England than the one made by your ministry, when England was triumphant? The hatred which they bore to me has precipitated them into an abyss. I thought it bad policy to leave the English troops in France, and make Lord Wellington commander-in-chief. The ill effects of it are now manifest. Prussia prohibits entrance to your merchandise. What can you do? You can neither pretend to intimidate, nor proceed to extremities, as Prussia would fall upon Lord Wellington and his forty thousand men. While you retain your troops upon the continent, you will never be independent. Had you, after the grand blow was struck, when I

was disposed of, withdrawn your troops from the continent, you would not have drawn down the hatred and jealousy of the continental powers, especially at seeing Lord Wellington commander-in-chief, and they never would have dared to shut their ports against you. You could then have sent your ships, blockaded their ports, and have declared, "If you do not permit my merchandise to enter, no other shall either go in or come out!" They would soon have listened to reason. Now, your hands are tied; your meddling in continental affairs, and trying to make yourselves a great military power, instead of attending to the sea and commerce, will yet be your ruin as a nation. You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers*. Had I meant by this that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased, even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your riches and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England? It is not extent of territory nor a numerous population. It is not mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover, no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. When a nation has been favoured so much as yours has been, and misery exists in that nation, it is attributable to the imbecility of its ministers. The transition from war to peace cannot explain it. It is of too long a continuance. England has played for all or nothing. She has gained all, performed wonders, yet has nothing; and her people are starving and worse off than they were in the war; while France, which has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied."

We shall here give Napoleon's own opinion of the battle of Waterloo.

"The plan of the battle," said he, "will not, in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading through the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing any thing about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigour and genius which they had displayed on other occasions, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied

that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men every where opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the *minutiæ* of the army. I counted upon surprising and cutting him up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attacked, succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve which however occurred here, whether in consequence of treason or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had intrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy: but a little must be taken away even from that, when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest courage and obstinacy, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a

man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

It is quite unnecessary to refute this account. Our readers have already perused an impartial narrative of this memorable victory, which decided the fate of Napoleon and of Europe. The mean desire to depreciate the military genius of Wellington, evinced in the foregoing passage, we would willingly forget—it is unworthy of Napoleon's own unquestionable renown.

About this time Las Cases was compelled to leave St. Helena. He had written a letter to Lucien Bonaparte, and intrusted it to a Mulatto servant to be forwarded to Europe. He was detected; and as he was thus endeavouring to carry on (contrary to the regulations of the island) a clandestine correspondence with Europe, Las Cases and his son were sent off, first to the Cape and then to England, where he was not suffered to land.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### 1818—1821.

The last days of Napoleon—His death—His will.

We are now approaching the last melancholy epoch of Napoleon's life, when he first felt the ravages of that malady which finally put a period to his existence. The disease had probably existed for some years, and occasional manifestations of its presence had been exhibited; but his usual health always returned after every attack, and its fatal nature was not suspected, although Napoleon himself had several times said that he should die of a schirrus in the pylorus, the disease which killed his father, and which the physicians of Montpelier declared would be hereditary in his family. About the middle of the year 1818, it was observed that his health grew gradually worse, and it was thought proper by Mr. O'Meara to report to the governor the state in which he was. Even on these occasions Napoleon seized the opportunity for renewing his claim to the title of Emperor. He insisted that the physician should not send any bulletin whatever, unless he named him in it by his Imperial designation. Mr. O'Meara explained that the instructions of his government and the orders of Sir H. Lowe, prohibited him from using the obnoxious term; but it was in vain; after some difficulty, it was agreed upon that the word "patient" should be used instead of the title of General, which caused so much offence, and this substitution got rid of the difficulty.

Mr. O'Meara afterwards proposed to call in the assistance of Dr. Baxter, the principal medical officer of the island, but this offer Napoleon refused at once, alleging that, although "it was true he looked like an honest man, he was too much attached to that hangman:" he also persisted in rejecting the aid of medicine, and determined to take no exercise out of doors as long as he should be subjected to the challenge of sentinels. To a representation that his determination might convert a curable to a fatal malady, he replied, "I shall at least have the consolation

that my death will be an eternal dishonour to the English nation who sent me to this climate to die under the hands of * * * * *."

This desperate course seems to have been caused partly by the reckless feelings of despondency caused by his situation, and the deep resentment he felt against England, and partly by his belief in the inutility of medicine, and his ideas of fatalism. He more than once returned for answer, when urged to take care of his health, that the dishonour to England was a consolation for death; and only a very short time before his dissolution, he exclaimed, "No: England calls for my corpse: I will not keep her waiting, and shall die very well without drugs." His more usual reply to his medical adviser, was a rejection of the advice, and an argument on the ignorance of physicians. "We are," he would say, "a machine made to live: we are organized for that purpose, and such is our nature. Do not counteract the living principle—let it alone; leave it at liberty to defend itself—it will do better than your drugs. Our body is a watch that is intended to go a given time. The watch-maker cannot open it, and must in handling it, grope his way blindfold and at random. For once that he assists and relieves it, by dint of tormenting it with his crooked instruments, he injures it ten times, and at last destroys it."

An important incident in Napoleon's monotonous life was the removal of Dr. O'Meara, who had attended him as his physician from the time of his arrival on the island. The removal of this gentleman was occasioned by the suspicion of a similar conduct to that which brought about the dismissal of Las Cases, twenty months previously, namely, the carrying on secret correspondence with persons out of the island. Napoleon complained bitterly of the loss of his medical attendant, though he had most assuredly very seldom attended to his advices, and repelled as an insult the offered assistance of Dr. Baxter, insinuating that the governor wished to have his life in his power. Some time after, Dr. Stokoe, a surgeon on board a ship at the station, was called in, but dismissed soon after from some cause which seems not to be explained. After this, Napoleon expressed his determination to admit of no more visits from any English physician whatever, and Cardinal Fesch was requested by the British ministry to select some physician of reputation in Italy, who should be sent to St. Helena to attend on Napoleon. The choice fell on Dr. Antommarchi, who was accordingly sent to St. Helena in company with two catholic priests and two domestics, in compliance with the wish of Napoleon to that effect. The party reached the island in September, 1819.

On his first visit, the Emperor overwhelmed Antommarchi with questions concerning his mother and family, the Princess Julia, and Las Cases, whom he had seen in passing through Frankfort;

expatiated with satisfaction on the retreat which he had at one time meditated in Corsica; entered into some discussions with the doctor on his profession; and then directed his attention to the details of his disorder. While he examined the symptoms, the Emperor continued his remarks. They were sometimes serious, sometimes lively. Kindness, indignation, gaiety, were expressed by turns in his words and in his countenance. "Well, doctor!" he exclaimed, "what is your opinion? Am I to trouble much longer the digestion of kings?"—"You will survive them, sire." —"Ay, I believe you: they will not be able to subject to the ban of Europe the fame of our victories: it will traverse ages: it will proclaim the conquerors and the conquered, those who were generous, and those who were not so: posterity will judge; I do not dread its decision."—"This after-life belongs to you of right. Your name will never be repeated with admiration, without recalling those inglorious warriors so basely leagued against a single man. But you are not near your end: you have yet a long career to run."—"No, doctor! I cannot hold out long under this frightful climate."—"Your excellent constitution is proof against its pernicious effects."—"It once did not yield to the strength of mind with which nature has endowed me; but the transition from a life of action to a complete seclusion has ruined all. I have grown fat, my energy is gone, the bow is unstrung." Antommarchi did not try to combat an opinion but too well-founded, but diverted the conversation to another subject. "I resign myself," said he, "to your direction. Let medicine give the order, I submit to its decisions. I entrust my health to your care. I owe you the detail of the habits I have acquired, of the affections to which I am subject.

"The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed: my sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil. If pain or any accident interrupt it, I leap on the floor, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some object: sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment, lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I rise at two, three, four in the morning: I call for some one to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. I go out as soon as dawn appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself, I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances

carry me on to nine or ten o'clock; sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table: it is proper that I should give you an account of mine. Well, then, a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, compose the whole service: half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a good deal of water, serves me for drink: I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret: it is a certain means of giving a fillip to the stomach."

The doctor having expressed his surprise of Napoleon's temperance, he replied, "In my marches with the army of Italy, I never failed to put into the bow of my saddle a bottle of wine, some bread, and a cold fowl. This provision sufficed for the wants of the day; I may even say that I often shared it with others. I thus gained time. I eat fast, masticate little, my meals do not consume my hours. This is not what you will approve the most; but in my present situation, what signifies it? I am attacked with a liver complaint,* a malady which is general in this horrible climate.

The journal of Antommarchi has made us acquainted with the last twenty months of Napoleon's life: it is not so interesting on many accounts as those of Las Cases and O'Meara, and is so filled with rancour against every thing English, that it cannot be read without suspicion where the actions of any Englishman are related; but it is interesting inasmuch as it supplies that information respecting the close of Napoleon's eventful life, which we must otherwise have wanted. He seems to have entered heart and soul into the spirit of opposition against the governor: if Napoleon calls him hangman and liar, Antommarchi designates him as a tiger and a savage. Napoleon's prejudice began, as we have observed, at the first interview with the governor. Antommarchi's before he saw him. A few hours' delay of the vessel entering the port was a snare laid by Sir Hudson Lowe, who wished to gain time to meditate evil. Every Englishman was a villain: the captain of the ship who brought them was a pirate and a corsair.

Antommarchi, having gained his confidence, now became companion as well as physician to the Emperor, and sometimes read with him. He eagerly turned over the newspapers when they arrived, and commented freely on their contents. "It is amusing," he would say, "to see the sage measures resorted to by the allies to make people forget my tyranny!" On one occasion, he felt more languid than ordinary, and lighting on the *Andromache* of Racine, he took up the book, began to read, but

* This afterwards proved to be an error.

soon let it drop from his hands. He had come to the famous passage where the mother describes her being allowed to see her son once a day.

> " Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mon fils,
> Puisqu'une fois le jour, vous souffrez que je voie
> Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie:
> J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui;
> Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui."

He was moved, covered his face with his hands, and saying that he was too much affected, desired to be left alone. He grew calmer, fell asleep; and when he awoke, desired Antommarchi to be called again. He was getting ready to shave, and the doctor was curious to witness the operation. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, with two valets at his side, one holding the glass and a towel, the other the rest of the apparatus. The Emperor spread the soap over one side of his face, put down the brush, wiped his hands and mouth, took a razor dipped in hot water, and shaved the right side with singular dexterity. " Is it done, Noverraz?"—" Yes, sire."—" Well, then, face about. Come, villain, quick, stand still." The light fell on the left side; which after applying the lather, he shaved in the same manner and with the same dexterity. He drew his hand over his chin. " Raise the glass. Am I quite right?"—" Quite so."—" Not a hair has escaped me: what say you?"—" No, sire," replied the valet-de-chambre. " No! I think I perceive one. Lift up the glass: place it in a better light. How, rogue! Flattery? You deceive me at St. Helena? On this rock? You, too, are an accomplice." With this he gave them both a box on the ear, laughed, and joked in the most pleasant manner possible.

As a sample of Antommarchi's manner to the governor, as well as of his epigrammatical and to us often unintelligible dialogue, we extract a page from his journal, where he describes a scene with Sir Hudson, who had come to Longwood to endeavour to see Bonaparte, who had for several days constantly concealed himself from the officer whose duty it was to ascertain his presence daily. The attendants on Napoleon endeavoured to dissuade the governor from attempting to get an interview; but, says Antommarchi, " It was of little concern to him whether the prisoner lived or died: his duty was to secure his person, and that duty he would fulfil. I saw the tiger prowling round the house: I was suffocating with rage, and was going out, when he stopped me. 'What is *General Bonaparte* doing?'—'I know not.'—'Where is he?'—'I cannot say.'—'He is not there?' (pointing to the cabin)—'He is not.'—'What! he has disappeared?'—'Quite.'—'How? When?'—'I do not recollect precisely.'—'Endeavour to collect your ideas: since what hour?'—'What hour! The last battle he commanded was

BY F. DE MYRBACH.

NAPOLEON'S MODE OF TRAVELING.

that of Aboukir. He fought for civilization; you were protecting barbarism: he defeated your allies, and threw them into the sea; his victory was complete. I have not heard of him since.' 'Doctor!'—'Excellency!'—'All here . . . .'—'No!'—'Who?'—'I.'—'You?'—'I.'—'Soldiers!'—'Soldiers! hasten—fill up the measure of your indignities by depriving the Emperor of the short remains of his existence.'—'The Emperor! what Emperor?'—'He who made England tremble! He who showed France the way to Dover; and placed in the hands of the continent the weapon which will sooner or later give the deathblow to your aristocracy.'" On hearing this balderdash, the governor retired, leaving the doctor making comparison between him and the Cimbrian about to kill Marius, and likening his soul to the mud of the Thames.

An extraordinary and almost incredible instance of the determination of the exiles to make as many enemies as they possibly could, was exhibited to Antommarchi on his arrival at Longwood. He states that, before he was permitted to enter on his functions as surgeon, he was required to take an oath, that he would not communicate with nor say any thing to the English, and that he would more especially avoid giving them the least information respecting the progress of Napoleon's disorder. He was not allowed to see his illustrious patient until the oath was taken. After exacting such an oath from his physician, the attendants of Bonaparte had little right to complain, as they did, that the real state of his disorder was purposely concealed from the world by the English government. It would have been more extraordinary if any true account of it had been published. At all events it is more than probable that the constant attempts observed to throw mystery and secrecy around them, must have tended to create the suspicion of escape, and to increase the consequent rigour of the regulations maintained by the governor.

Soon after the arrival of the priests, Napoleon determined, we may suppose, partly in jest, to elevate one of them to the dignity of bishop, and he chose for a diocese the Jumna, a river of India, which unites with the Ganges. The whole circumstance is characteristic; it occurred while the attendants were unpacking the boxes brought from Europe by Antommarchi, who relates the anecdote. "The last box had been broken open; it contained the vases and church ornaments. 'Stop,' said Napoleon, 'this is the property of St. Peter, have a care who touches it; send for the abbés—but talking of the abbés, do you know that the cardinal is a poor creature? He sends me missionaries and propagandists, as if I were a penitent, and as if a whole string of their eminences had not always attended at my chapel. I will do what he ought to have done; I possess the right of investiture, and I shall use it. Abbé!' (Buonavita was just entering the room) 'I give you the episcopal mitre.'—'Sire!'

—'I restore it to you; you shall wear it in spite of the heretics; they will not again take it from you.'—'But, sire!'—'I cannot add to it so rich a benefice as that of Valencia, which Suchet had given you, but at any rate your see shall be secure from the chances of battles. I appoint you Bishop of—let me see—of the Jumna. The vast countries through which that river flows were on the point of entering into alliance with me—all was in readiness, all were going to march. We were about to give the finishing blow to England." The speech concluded with an order to Count Montholon to procure the necessary dress for the abbé, in order to strike with awe all the heretics. The upshot of the whole was, that the scarlet and violet coloured cloths necessary to furnish the new bishop with the only valuable portion of his temporalities, his dress, could not be procured in the island, and the abbé remained an abbé in spite of the investiture, and the whole farce was forgotten.

For the celebration of mass a moveable altar was constructed out of the pieces of the bedstead which had been sent out to Napoleon by the British government: the opportunity for a sarcasm was too good to be lost. He directed the boards necessary for the altar to be taken from the ill-shaped machine, and the remainder to be thrown into some corner of the garden; he then compared it to a rat-trap, and concluded with the remark, "British taste alone could be delivered of such a conception."

We occasionally see the exile in better moods, when he listened to the voice of reason, and thought less of the annoyances inseparable from the state to which his ambition, or as he himself always averred, his destiny, had reduced him. He had for a long time debarred himself from all exercise, having, as he expressed it, determined not to expose himself to the insult of being accompanied on his side by a British officer, or the possibility of being challenged by a sentinel. One day when he complained of his inactive life, his medical attendant recommended the exercise of digging the ground; the idea was instantly seized upon by Napoleon, with his characteristic ardour. Noverraz, his valet-de-chambre, who had been formerly accustomed to rural occupations, was honoured with the title of head gardener, and under his directions Napoleon proceeded to work with great vigour. He sent for Antommarchi to witness his newly-acquired dexterity in the use of the spade. "Well, doctor," said he to him, "are you satisfied with your patient, is he obedient enough? This is better than your pills, Dottoraccio; you shall not physic me any more." At first he soon got fatigued, and complained much of the weakness of his body and delicacy of his hands; but "never mind," said he, "I have always accustomed my body to bend to my will, and I shall bring it to do so now, and inure it to the exercise." He soon grew fond of his new employment, and pressed all the inhabitants of Longwood into the service. Even the ladies had great diffi-

culty to avoid being set to work. He laughed at them, urged them, entreated them, and used all his arts of persuasion, particularly with Madame Bertrand. He assured her that the exercise of gardening was much better than all the doctor's prescriptions—that it was in fact one of his prescriptions. But in this instance, his eloquence failed in its effect, and he was obliged, though with much reluctance, to desist from his attempts to make lady gardeners.

But in recompense, he had willing labourers on the part of the gentlemen. Antommarchi says, "The Emperor urged us, excited us, and every thing around us soon assumed a different aspect. Here was an excavation, there a basin or a road. We made alleys, grottoes, cascades; the appearance of the ground had now some life and diversity. We planted willows, oaks, peach-trees, to give a little shade round the house. Having completed the ornamental part of our labours, we turned to the useful. We divided the ground, we manured it, and sowed it with abundance of beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island." In the course of their labours they found that a tank would be of great use to hold water, which might be brought by pipes from a spring at a distance of three thousand feet. For this laborious attempt it was absolutely necessary to procure additional forces, and a party of Chinese, of whom there are many on the island, was engaged to help them. These people were much amused with Napoleon's working-dress, which was a jacket, and large trousers, with an enormous straw hat to shield him from the sun, and sandals. He pitied those poor fellows who suffered from the heat of the sun, and made each of them a present of a large hat like his own. After much exertion the basin was finished, the pipes laid, and the water began to flow into it. Napoleon stocked his pond with gold fish, which he placed in it with his own hands, and frequently visited it. He would remain by the pond for hours together, at a time when he was so weak that he could hardly support himself. It was the usual object and limit of his walks. He would amuse himself by following the motion of the fishes, throwing bread to them, studying their ways, taking an interest in their loves and their quarrels, and endeavouring with anxiety to find out points of resemblance between their motives and those of mankind. He often sent for his attendants to communicate his remarks to them, and directed their observations to any peculiarities he had observed. His favourites at last sickened, they struggled, floated on the water, and died one after another. He was deeply affected by this, and remarked to Antommarchi, "You see very well that there is a fatality attached to me. Every thing I love, every thing that belongs to me, is immediately struck: heaven and mankind unite to persecute me." From this time he visited them daily in spite of sickness or bad weather, nor did his anxiety diminish until it was discovered that a coppery

cement, with which the bottom of the basin was plastered, had poisoned the water. The fish which were not yet dead were then taken out and put into a tub.

Napoleon appears to have taken peculiar interest in observing the instincts of animals, and comparing their practices and propensities with those of men. A rainy day, during which the digging of the tank could not be proceeded with, gave occasion for some observations on the actions of a number of ants, which had made a way into his bedroom, climbed upon a table on which some sugar usually stood, and taken possession of the sugar-basin. He would not allow the industrious little insects to be disturbed in their plans; but he now and then moved the sugar, followed their manœuvres, and admired the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again: this they had been sometimes even two or three days in effecting, though they always succeeded at last. He then surrounded the basin with water, but the ants still reached it: he finally employed vinegar, but the insects were unable to get through the new obstacle. Napoleon took occasion from this to descant on the vacillation of the French nation, and on the certainty of all the sovereigns of Europe being eclipsed by himself, a man of the people, had the French people possessed the unanimity of those insects: forgetting that he had himself ceased to be the man of the people, and had allied himself to those sovereigns long before the French had forsaken him.

But the slight activity of mind that now remained to him was soon to be exchanged for the languor and gloominess of sickness, with but few intervals between positive suffering and the most distressing lowness of spirits. Towards the end of the year 1820 he walked with difficulty, and required assistance even to reach a chair in his garden. He became nearly incapable of the slightest action; his legs swelled; the pains in his side and back were increased; he was troubled with nausea, profuse sweats, loss of appetite, and was subject to frequent faintings. "Here I am, doctor," said he one day, "at my last cast. No more energy or strength left: I bend under the load. ..... I am going. I feel that my hour is come."

Some days after, as he lay on his couch, he feelingly expressed to Antommarchi the vast change which had taken place within him. He recalled for a few moments the vivid recollection of past times, and compared his former energy with the weakness which he was then sinking under.

The news of the death of his sister Eliza also affected him deeply. After a struggle with his feelings, which had nearly overpowered him, he rose, supported himself on Antommarchi's arm, and regarding him steadfastly, said, "Well, doctor! you see Eliza has just shown me the way. Death, which seemed to have forgotten my family, has begun to strike it: my turn cannot be far off. What think you?"—"Your majesty is in no

danger: you are still reserved for some glorious enterprise."—"Ah! doctor, I have neither strength, nor activity, nor energy; I am no longer Napoleon. You strive in vain to give me hopes, to recal life ready to expire. Your care can do nothing in spite of fate: it is immoveable; there is no appeal from its decisions. The next person of our family who will follow Eliza to the tomb is that great Napoleon, who hardly exists, who bends under the yoke, and who still, nevertheless, keeps Europe in alarm. Behold, my good friend, how I look on my situation! As for me, all is over: I repeat it to you, my days will soon close on this miserable rock." "We returned," says Antommarchi, "into his chamber. Napoleon lay down in bed." "Close my windows," he said; "leave me to myself; I will send for you by-and-by. What a delightful thing rest is! I would not exchange it for all the thrones in the world! What an alteration! How I am fallen! I, whose activity was boundless, whose mind never slumbered, am now plunged into a lethargic stupor, so that it requires an effort even to raise my eyelids. I sometimes dictated to four or five secretaries, who wrote as fast as words could be uttered: but then I was Napoleon—now I am no longer any thing. My strength—my faculties forsake me. I do not live—I merely exist."

From this period the existence of Napoleon was evidently drawing to a close—his days were counted. Whole hours, and even days, were either passed in gloomy silence, or filled up by pain, distressing coughs, and all the melancholy signs of the approach of death. He made a last effort to ride a few miles round Longwood on the 22d of January, but it exhausted his strength, and from that time his only exercise was in the calash. Even that slight motion soon became too fatiguing.

He now kept his room, and no longer stirred out. His disorder and his weakness increased upon him. He still was able to eat something, but very little, and with a worse appetite than ever. The conversation on one occasion turned upon the fine arts. One of the speakers made little account of music, and did not conceal his opinion. "You are wrong," said the Emperor, "it is of all the liberal arts the one which has most influence on the passions; and that which the legislator is bound to encourage most. A well-composed piece of music touches, melts the soul, and produces more effect than a treatise of morality, which convinces the reason, leaves us cold and unmoved, and makes not the slightest alteration of our habits." The controversy continued between Napoleon and his physician respecting the taking of the pills, draughts, &c.; but in general, the patient submitted, though with a very ill grace, and to very little purpose. The night of the 6th of March was passed in a restless state: he got a little sleep towards the morning. He was less feeble than he had been for some days. He was standing up, his dress neglected: Antommarchi begged him to pay some attention to his toilet.

"When I was Napoleon," he replied, with a degrèe of emotion, "I did so readily and with pleasure; but at present, what concern have I in looking well or ill? Besides, all this costs me more trouble now than it formerly gave me to arrange the plan of a campaign. Nevertheless, let us set about it:" and he accordingly proceeded to shave himself, but at intervals, being obliged to stop several times. He finished at length, and lay down the rest of the morning.

Lady Holland had sent out some books, and a plaster-cast of the head marked with the different organs, according to the system of Gall and Spurzheim. He asked Antommarchi to examine it and give his opinion, and expressed his own as unfavourable to it. He classed the authors with Lavater, Cagliostro, and Mesmer, and said he would never see Gall, though Corvisart had much pressed him to do so. Towards the middle of the month his spirits became more depressed: a deathlike coldness seized the lower extremities. "Ah! doctor," he exclaimed, "how I suffer! Why did the cannon-balls spare me, only to die in this deplorable manner? I that was so active, so alert, can now scarcely raise my eyelids:"—and he closed his eyes.

His last airing was on the 17th of March. The disease increased, and Antommarchi, who was much alarmed, obtained, with difficulty, permission to see an English physician. He held a consultation, on the 26th of March, with Dr. Arnott, of the 20th regiment; but the result was of no use: Napoleon still refused to take medicine, and often repeated his favourite saying: "Every thing that must happen is written down: our hour is marked, and it is not in our power to take from time a portion which nature refuses us." He continued to grow worse, and at last consented to see Dr. Arnott, whose first visit was on the 1st of April. He was introduced into the chamber of the patient, which was darkened, and into which Napoleon did not suffer any light to be brought: examined his pulse and the other symptoms, and was requested to repeat his visit the next day. Napoleon was now within a month of his death, and although he occasionally spoke with the eloquence and vehemence he had so often exhibited, his mind was evidently giving way. The reported appearance of a comet was taken as a token of his death. He was excited, and exclaimed with emotion, "A comet! that was the sign precursive of the death of Cæsar."

On the 3d of April the symptoms of the disorder had become so alarming, that Antommarchi informed Bertrand and Montholon he thought Napoleon's danger imminent, and that he ought to take steps to put his affairs in order. He was now attacked by fever and by violent thirst, which often interrupted his sleep in the night. On the 14th, Napoleon found himself in better spirits, and talked with Dr. Arnott on the merits of

Marlborough, whose *Campaigns* he desired him to present to the 20th regiment, learning that they did not possess a copy in their library.

On the 15th, Napoleon's doors were closed to all but Montholon and Marchand, and it appeared that he had been making his will. From this time the disorder took various turns, still, however, making progress. On the 19th he was better, was free from pain, sat up, and ate a little. He was in good spirits, and wished them to read to him. As General Montholon with the others expressed his satisfaction at this improvement, he smiled gently, and said, "You deceive yourselves, my friends: I am, it is true, somewhat better; but I feel no less that my end draws near. When I am dead, you will have the soothing consolation of returning to Europe. One will meet his relations, another his friends; and as for me, I shall behold my brave companions in arms in the Elysian Fields. Yes," he went on, raising his voice, "Kleber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Masséna, Berthier, all will come to greet me: they will talk to me of what we have done together. I will recount to them the latest events of my life. On seeing me, they will become once more intoxicated with enthusiasm and glory. We will discourse of our wars with the Scipios, the Hannibals, the Cæsars, and the Frederics—there will be a satisfaction in that: unless," he added, laughingly, "they should be alarmed below to see so many warriors assembled together!"

He addressed Dr. Arnott, who came in while he was speaking, on the treatment he had received from Englaud; said that she had violated every sacred right in making him prisoner, that he should have been much better treated in Russia, Austria, or even Prussia: that he was sent to the horrible rock of St. Helena on purpose to die: that he had been purposely placed on the most uninhabitable spot of that inhospitable island, and kept six years a close prisoner, and that Sir Hudson Lowe was his executioner. He concluded with these words: "You will end like the proud republic of Venice: and I, dying upon this dreary rock, away from those I hold dear, and deprived of every thing, bequeath the opprobrium and horror of my death to the reigning family of England." On the 21st, Napoleon gave directions to the priest who was in attendance, as to the manner in which he would be placed to lie in state after his death; and finding his religious attendant had never officiated in such a solemnity, he gave the most minute instructions for the mode of conducting it. He afterwards declared that he would die, as he was born, a Catholic, and desired that mass should be said by his body, and the customary ceremonies should be performed every day until his burial. The expression of his face was earnest, even convulsive: he saw Antommarchi watching the contractions which he underwent, when his eye caught some indication that displeased him.

"You are above these weaknesses: but what do you wish? I am neither philosopher nor physician. I believe in God: I am of the religion of my fathers: every one cannot be an atheist who pleases." Then turning to the priest—"I was born in the Catholic religion. I wish to fulfil the duties which it imposes, and to receive the succour which it administers. You will say mass every day in the adjoining chapel, and you will expose the Holy Sacrament for forty hours. After I am dead, you will fix your altar at my head, in the funeral chamber: you will continue to celebrate mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies; you will not cease till I am laid in the ground." The abbé withdrew; Napoleon reproved his fellow-countryman for his supposed incredulity. "Can you carry it to this point? Can you disbelieve in God? Every thing proclaims his existence; and, besides, the greatest minds have thought so."—"But, sire, I have never called it in question. I was attending to the progress of the fever, your majesty fancied you saw in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a physician, doctor," he replied, laughingly; "these folks," he added, half to himself, "are conversant only with matter: they will believe in nothing beyond."

In the afternoon of the 25th he was better; but being left alone, a sudden fancy possessed him to eat. He called for fruits, wine, tried a biscuit, then swallowed some Champagne, seized a bunch of grapes, and burst into a fit of laughter as soon as he saw Antommarchi return. The physician ordered away the dessert, and found fault with the *maitre d'hôtel;* but the mischief was done, the fever returned and became violent. The Emperor was now on his death-bed, but he testified concern for every one. He asked Antommarchi if five hundred guineas would satisfy the English physician, and if he himself would like to serve Maria Louisa in quality of a physician? "She is my wife, the first princess in Europe; and after me, you should serve no one else." Antommarchi expressed his acknowledgments. The fever continued unabated, with violent thirst and cold in the feet. On the 27th he determined to remove from the small chamber into the saloon. They were preparing to lift him. "No," he said, "not till I am dead: for the present, it will be sufficient if you support me."

Between the 27th and 28th the Emperor passed a very bad night; the fever increased, the cold spread over all his limbs, his strength was quite gone. He spoke a few words of encouragement to Antommarchi; then in a tone of perfect calmness and composure, he delivered to him the following instructions: "After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish you to open my body: I wish also, nay, I require, that you will not suffer any English physician to touch me. If, however, you find it indispensable to have some one to assist you, Dr. Arnott is the only one I am willing you should employ. I am desirous, fur-

ther, that you should take out my heart, that you put it in spirits of wine, and that you carry it to Parma to my dear Maria Louisa: you will tell her how tenderly I have loved her, that I have never ceased to love her; and you will report to her all that you have witnessed, all that relates to my situation and my death. I recommend you above all carefully to examine my stomach, to make an exact, detailed report of it, which you will convey to my son. The vomitings which succeed each other without intermission lead me to suppose that the stomach is the one of my organs which is the most deranged; and I am inclined to believe that it is affected with the disease which conducted my father to the grave; I mean a cancer in the lower stomach. What think you?" His physician hesitating, he continued—"I have not doubted this since I found the sickness become frequent and obstinate. It is nevertheless well worthy of remark, that I have always had a stomach of iron, that I have felt no inconvenience from this organ till latterly, and that whereas my father was fond of high-seasoned dishes and spirituous liquors, I have never been able to make use of them. Be it as it may, I entreat, I charge you to neglect nothing in such an examination, in order that when you see my son you may communicate the result of your observations to him, and point out the most suitable remedies. When I am no more, you will repair to Rome; you will find out my mother and my family. You will give them an account of all you have observed relative to my situation, my disorder, and my death on this remote and miserable rock: you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in a state the most deplorable, wanting every thing, abandoned to himself and his glory." It was ten in the forenoon: after this the fever abated, and he fell into a sort of doze.

The Emperor passed a very bad night and could not sleep. He grew light-headed and talked incoherently; still the fever had abated in its violence. Towards morning the hiccough began to torment him, the fever increased, and he became quite delirious. He spoke of his complaint, and called upon Baxter (the governor's physician) to appear, to come and see the truth of his reports. Then all at once summoning O'Meara, he imagined a dialogue between them, throwing a weight of odium on the English policy. The fever having subsided, his hearing became distinct; he grew calm, and entered into some further conversation on what was to be done after his death. He felt thirst, and drank a large quantity of cold water. "If fate should determine that I shall recover, I would raise a monument on the spot where this water gushes out: I would crown the fountain in memory of the comfort which it has afforded me. If I die, and they should not proscribe my remains as they have proscribed my person, I should desire to be buried with my ancestors in the cathedral of Ajaccio, in Corsica. But if I am not allowed to repose where I was born, why then let them bury

me in the spot where this fine and refreshing water flows." This request was afterwards complied with.*

He remained nearly in the same state for some days. On the 1st of May he was delirious nearly all day, and suffered dreadful vomitings. He took two small biscuits and a few drops of red wine. On the 2d he was rather quieter, and the alarming symptoms diminished a little. At 2 p. m., however, he had a paroxysm of fever, and became again delirious. He talked to himself of France, of his dear son, of some of his old companions in arms. At times he was evidently in imagination on the field of battle. "Steingel!" he cried; "Dessaix! Massena! Ah! victory is declaring! run—rush forward—press the charge!—they are ours!"

"I was listening," says Dr. Antommarchi, "and following the progress of that painful agony in the deepest distress and affliction, when Napoleon, suddenly collecting his strength, jumped on the floor, and would absolutely go down into the garden to take a walk. I ran to receive him in my arms, but his legs bent under the weight of his body: he fell backwards, and I had the mortification of being unable to prevent his falling. We raised him up and entreated him to get into bed again; but he did not recognise any body, and began to storm and fall into a violent passion. He was unconscious, and anxiously desired to walk in the garden. In the course of the day, however, he became more collected, and again spoke of his disease, and the precise anatomical examination he wished to be made of his body after death. He had a fancy that this might be useful to his son."—"The physicians of Montpelier," he said to Antommarchi, "announced that the scirrhosis in the pylorus would be hereditary in my family; their report is, I believe, in the hands of my brother Louis; ask for it and compare it with your own observations on my case, in order that my son may be saved from this cruel disease. You will see him, doctor, and you will point out to him what is best to do, and will save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience. This is the last service I ask of you." Later in the day he said, "Doctor, I am very ill—I feel that I am going to die."

The last time Napoleon spoke, except to utter a few short unconnected words, was on the 3d of May. It was in the afternoon, and he had requested his attendants, in case of his losing consciousness, not to allow any English physician to approach him except Dr. Arnott. "I am going to die," said he, "and you to return to Europe; I must give you some advice as

* The place determined on for his grave was a verdant spot about three miles from Longwood—a place pointed out by himself a short time before his death. It was a small secluded recess, where his Chinese servants used to draw the water which they carried to Longwood for his use. It was more green and shady than any other in the neighbourhood, and it was here that Napoleon was accustomed to repose, under the beautiful willows which overhung the spring.

DEATH OF NAPOLEON I.

MORT DE NAPOLÉON

NAPOLEON I (CHAPT.)

# DEATH OF NAPOLEON.

"From the 15th to the 25th of April, Napoleon occupied himself with drawing up his last will, in which he bequeathed his orders, and a specimen of every article in his wardrobe, to his son. On the 18th, he gave directions for opening his body after death, expressing a special desire that his stomach should be scrutinized, and its appearances communicated to his son. 'The vomitings,' he said, 'which succeed one another without interruption, seem to shew that of all my organs the stomach is the most diseased. I am inclined to believe it is attacked with the disorder which killed my father—a scirrhus in the pylorus—the physicians of Montpelier prophesied it would be hereditary in our family.'

"On the third of May, it became evident that the scene was near its close. The attendants would fain have called in more medical men; but they durst not, knowing his feelings on this head: 'even had he been speechless,' said one of them, 'we would not have brooked his eye.' The last sacraments of the church were now administered by Vignali. He lingered on thenceforth in a delirious stupor. On the 4th, the island was swept by a tremendous storm, which tore up almost all the trees about Longwood by the roots. The 5th was another day of tempests; and about six in the evening, Napoleon having pronounced the words, 'tête d'armée,' passed for ever from the dreams of battle."—*History of Napoleon.*

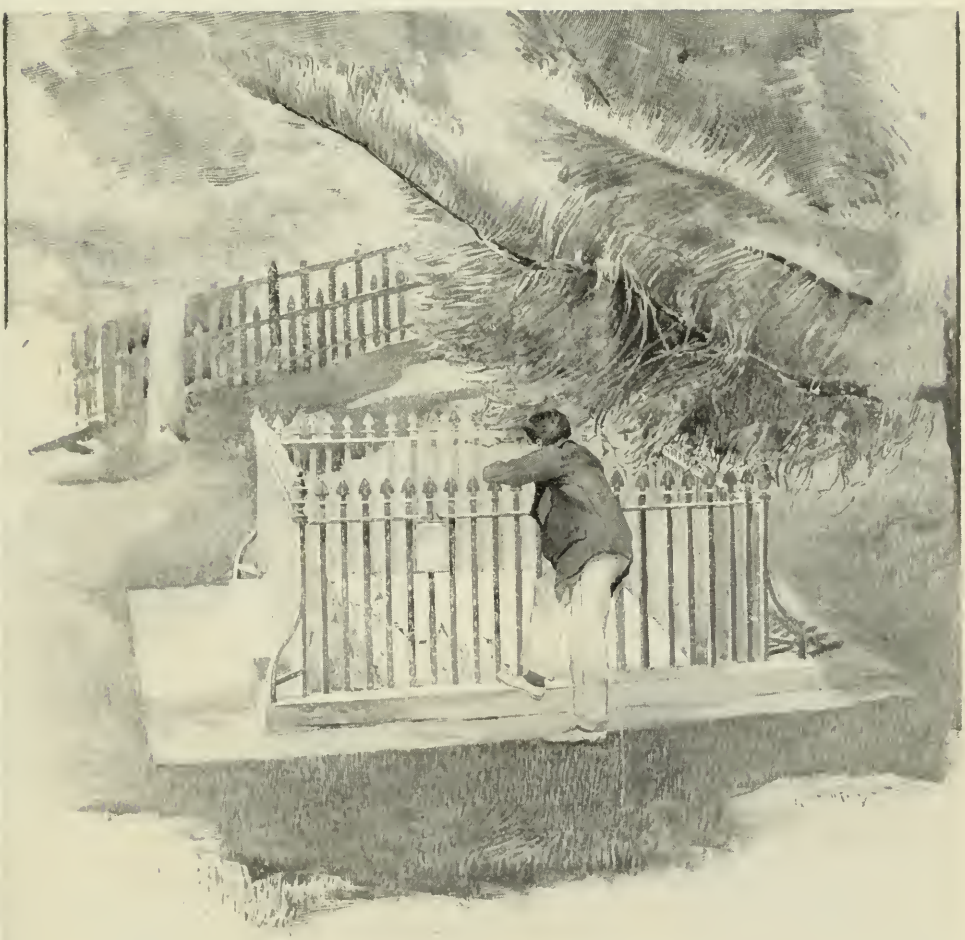
to the line of conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile, you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do any thing that may injure it. I have sanctioned all principles, and infused them into my laws and acts; I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred; I could not unbend the bow; and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence; she feels grateful for my intentions; she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example, be faithful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired: any other course can only lead to shame and confusion."

From this moment it does not appear that Napoleon showed any signs of understanding what was going forward around him. His weakness increased every moment, and a harassing hiccough continued until death took place. The day before that event a fearful tempest threatened to destroy every thing about Longwood. The plantations were torn up by the roots, and it was particularly remarked that a willow, under which Napoleon usually sat to enjoy the fresh air, had fallen. "It seemed," says Antommarchi, "as if none of the things the Emperor valued were to survive him." On the day of his death, Madame Bertrand, who had not left his bedside, sent for her children to take a last farewell of Napoleon. The scene which ensued is affecting: the children ran to the bed, kissed the hands of Napoleon, and covered them with tears. One of the children fainted, and all had to be carried from the spot. "We all," says Antommarchi, "mixed our lamentations with theirs: we all felt the same anguish, the same cruel foreboding of the approach of the fatal instant, which every minute accelerated. The favourite valet, Noverraz, who had been for some time very ill, when he heard of the state in which Napoleon was, caused himself to be carried down stairs, and entered the apartment in tears. He was with great difficulty prevailed upon to leave the room: he was in a delirious state, and he fancied his master was threatened with danger, and was calling upon him for assistance: he said he would not leave him but would fight and die for him. But Napoleon was now insensible to the tears of his servants, and to all other objects: he had scarcely spoken since the 3d of May; early in the morning he articulated a few broken sentences, among which the only words distinguishable were, '*tête d'armée*,' the last that ever left his lips, and which indicated the tenour of his fancies. The day passed in convulsive movements, and low moanings, with occasionally a loud shriek, and the dismal scene closed just before six in the evening. A slight froth covered his lips, and he was no more."

After he had been dead about six hours, Antommarchi had the body carefully washed and laid out on another bed. The executors then proceeded to examine two codicils which were directed to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease. The one related to the gratuities which he intended out of his private purse for the different individuals of his household, and to the alms which he wished to be distributed among the poor of St. Helena; the other contained his last wish that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well." The executors notified this request to the governor, who stated that his orders were that the body was to remain on the island. On the next day, after taking a plaster cast of the face of Napoleon, Antommarchi proceeded to open the body in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, some staff officers, and eight medical men.

The Emperor had intended his hair (which was of a chesnut colour) for presents to the different members of his family; and it was cut off and kept for this purpose. He had grown considerably thinner in person during the last few months. After his death, his face and body were pale, but without alteration or any thing of a cadaverous appearance. His physiognomy was fine, the eyes fast closed; and you would have said that the Emperor was not dead, but in a profound sleep. His mouth retained its expression of sweetness, though one side was contracted into a bitter smile. Several scars were seen on his body. On opening it, it was found that the liver was not affected, but that there was that cancer of the stomach which he had himself suspected, and of which his father and two of his sisters died. This painful examination having been completed, Antommarchi took out the heart and placed it in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine: he then directed the valet-de-chambre to dress the body as he had been accustomed in the Emperor's lifetime: with the grand *cordon* of the Legion of Honour across the breast, in the green uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard; decorated with the orders of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown; long boots, with little spurs; finally, his three-cornered hat. Thus habited, Napoleon was removed at five hours and three-quarters (on the 6th) out of the hall, into which the crowd rushed immediately. The linen which had been employed in the dissection of the body, though stained with blood, was eagerly seized, torn in pieces, and distributed among the bystanders.

Napoleon lay in state in his little bed-room which had been converted into a funeral chamber. It was hung with black cloth brought from the town. It was this circumstance which first apprized the inhabitants of his death. The corpse, which had not been embalmed, and which was of an extraordinary whiteness, was placed on one of the camp-beds, surrounded with little white curtains, which served for a sarcophagus. The blue



DRAWN BY MALCOLM FRASER

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY L. G. BILLINGS.

NAPOLEON'S TOMB AT ST. HELENA.

cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo covered it. The feet and the hands were free; the sword on the left side, and a crucifix on the breast. At some distance was the silver vase containing the heart and stomach, which were not allowed to be removed. At the back of the head was an altar, where the priest in his stole and surplice recited the customary prayers. All the individuals of Napoleon's suite, officers, and domestics, dressed in mourning, remained standing on the left. Dr. Arnott had been charged to see that no attempt was made to convey away the body.

For some hours the crowd had besieged the doors; they were admitted, and beheld the inanimate remains of Napoleon without disorder, and in respectful silence. The officers of the 20th and 66th regiments were admitted first: then the others. The following day (the 7th) the throng was greater. Antommarchi was not allowed to take the heart of Napoleon to Europe with him; he deposited that and the stomach in two vases, filled with alcohol, and hermetically sealed, in the corners of the coffin in which the corpse was laid. This was a case of tin, lined with a mattress, furnished with a pillow, and covered with white satin. There not being room for the hat to remain on his head, it was placed at his feet, with some eagles, the pieces of French money coined during his reign, a plate engraved with his arms, &c. The coffin was closed, carefully soldered up, and then fixed in another case of mahogany, which was enclosed in a third, made of lead, which last was fastened in a fourth of mahogany, which was sealed up, and fastened with iron screws. The coffin was exposed in the same place as the body had been, and was covered with the cloak that Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The funeral was ordered for the morrow; and the troops were to attend in the morning by break of day.

This took place accordingly: the governor arrived first, the rear-admiral soon after; and shortly all the authorities, civil and military, were assembled at Longwood. The day was fine, the people crowded the roads, music resounded from the heights; never spectacle so sad and solemn had been witnessed in these remote regions. At half-past twelve, the grenadiers took hold of the coffin, lifted it with difficulty, and succeeded in removing it into the great walk in the garden, where the hearse awaited them. It was placed in the carriage, covered with a pall of purple velvet, and with the cloak which the hero wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household were in mourning. The cavalcade was arranged by order of the governor in the following manner: The Abbé Vignali in his sacerdotal robes, with young Henry Bertrand at his side, bearing a holy-water sprinkle: Doctors Arnott and Antommarchi, the persons intrusted with the superintendence of the hearse, drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers without arms, on each side: these last were to carry the coffin on their shoulders

as soon as the ruggedness of the road prevented the hearse from advancing: young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot, and by the side of the hearse; Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback close behind the hearse; a part of the household of the Emperor; Countess Bertrand with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses, led by hand by her domestics, who walked by the side of the precipice; the Emperor's horse led by his equerry Archambaud; the officers of marine on horseback and on foot; the officers of the staff on horseback; the members of the council of the island, in like manner; General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu on horseback; the rear-admiral and the governor on horseback; the inhabitants of the island.

The train set out in this order from Longwood, passed by the barracks, and was met by the garrison, about two thousand five hundred in number, drawn up on the left of the road as far as *Hut's Gate.* Groups of musicians placed at different distances added still more, by the mournful airs which they played, to the striking solemnity of the occasion. When the train had passed, the troops followed and accompanied it to the burying-place. The dragoons marched first. Then came the 20th regiment of infantry, the marines, the 66th, the volunteeers of St. Helena, and lastly, the company of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were on the road-side at Hut's Gate, in an open carriage drawn by two horses. They were attended by some domestics in mourning, and followed the procession at a distance. The fifteen pieces of artillery were ranged along the road, and the cannoneers were at their posts, ready to fire. Having advanced about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate, the hearse stopped, the troops halted, and drew up in line of battle by the road-side. The grenadiers then raised the coffin on their shoulders, and bore it thus to the place of interment, by the new route which had been made on purpose on the declivity of the mountain. All the attendants alighted, the ladies descended from their carriages, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any regular order.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand and young Napoleon Bertrand, carried the four corners of the pall. The coffin was put down on the side of the tomb, which was hung with black. Near were seen the cords and pulleys which were to lower it into the earth. Every thing had a sombre aspect, all conspired to increase the melancholy and silent grief of the attendants. The coffin was then uncovered, the Abbé Vignali repeated the usual prayers, and the body was let down into the grave, with the feet to the east. The artillery then fired three salutes in succession of fifteen discharges each. The admiral's vessel had fired during the march twenty-five cannon-shot from time to time. A huge stone, which was to have been employed

## APOTHEOSIS.

The conclusion of Napoleon's remarkable history is here well conceived. The mound of earth, surmounted by his cap and sword, points out the last earthly tenement of the ex-emperor; the group upon that point of the rock which juts into the sea adds considerably to the interest of the scene: few have forgotten the faithful companions of Napoleon when prisoner at St. Helena. The artist, Horace Vernet, has called poetry to his aid, and introduced the shades of several of the departed comrades of Napoleon, who assisted him in gaining that fame which will ever attach to his character in the future history of European nations. Two aged minstrels, placed on the right of the engraving, are supposed to be recounting the history of his various exploits.

in the building of the new house of the Emperor, was made use of to close his grave. This was also strengthened by a stone wall with a covering of cement. While this was doing, the crowd fell upon the willows, which the former presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one was ambitious to possess a branch or some leaves of these trees, which were henceforth to shadow the tomb of this great man; and to preserve them as a precious relic of so memorable a scene. The governor and admiral endeavoured to prevent this outrage, but in vain. The governor, however, surrounded it afterwards with a barricade, where he placed a guard to keep off all intruders. The tomb of the Emperor is about a league from Longwood. It is of a quadrangular shape, wider at top than at bottom: the depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is fixed on two strong pieces of wood, and is detached in its whole circumference. Sir Hudson Lowe had committed Bonaparte to the ground; his task was ended.

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The following account of the last moments of Napoleon, by Marchand,* is now first given to the English public:

On the 27th of April, 1821, eight days before his death, the Emperor had passed several hours in forming an inventory of his snuff-boxes and other articles destined for his son; enclosing the whole in three mahogany cases, numbered 1, 2, 3. He deposited them with me to place them in the hands of his son when he should become of age.

This day was the most fatiguing which the Emperor had experienced during his illness, and one of the most painful to us his followers, as his approaching end was no longer doubtful. At various intervals sickness compelled him to suspend for a time the expression of his last wishes. All our efforts to induce him to desist from a labour which produced such serious consequences, were unsuccessful. "I am very much exhausted," said he, "but am convinced that I have little time left, and that I must complete my task. Give me a little of that Constantia which Las Cases sent me; a little excitement will do me no harm." I ventured to remark, that that wine was very different from that which Dr. Antommarchi had prescribed for him. "Bah!" said he, striking his forehead, "neither he nor you understand any thing about it: we want every thing in this country. Why should you wish to see me remain here? give me some of that wine; it will restore me. I do not desire to shorten my life, but I would do nothing to prolong it. Ah!" said he,

* M. Marchand succeeded Constant, as valet-de-chambre to the Emperor, at the moment of his quitting Fontainebleau to retire to the Isle of Elba. He was proposed to Napoleon by Constant.

placing his hand upon his right side, "I feel here as if a razor were cutting me."

Every thing that was said by the Emperor was full of dignity, of resignation, and of goodness; the bed upon which he sat was covered with articles carefully sealed up, and destined for his son and family. Among the number was a gold snuff-box, with a very beautiful cameo, which he bequeathed to Lady Holland, as a token of regard and grateful acknowledgment of the solicitude which this lady had manifested for the illustrious captive, in sending those little trifles always so well appreciated, and of which we are doubly sensible in the hour of misfortune. There was also a plain gold snuff-box, which he intended for Dr. Arnott, upon which he scratched with a penknife the letter N. A small sheet of pasteboard which he held in his left-hand, served him for a writing-desk. Count Montholon stood near his bed with an inkstand. Near him was a diamond necklace. Napoleon took it up, and giving it to me, said, "Keep this; I do not know what may be the state of my pecuniary affairs in Europe; that amiable creature Hortense gave it to me when I left Malmaison, thinking that it might be useful to me. Its value is, I believe, 200,000 francs; conceal it about your person. When you return to France, it will enable you to wait for what I desire to give you by my will and codicils. Make an honourable marriage; choose your wife from among the families of officers or soldiers of my old guard. There are many of those brave fellows who are not in good circumstances; better fortune awaited them but for the reverses which France has experienced. Posterity will give me credit for what I would have done to serve them if events had taken another course." Fatigued with the exertion of talking, he paused. These expressions will never be effaced from my memory, and though fifteen years have passed away, my tears flow upon recollection of them. After a short repose, he sealed up his various wills and codicils to the number of nine separate packets, all nearly of a similar form, but of different thickness, folded at one of the four corners, tied up with red ribbon, to which he annexed his signature and seal. About nine o'clock in the evening, wrapped up in his dressing-gown, and sitting in an easy chair with a little table before him, the Emperor caused the signatures and seals of his three executors to be affixed to his will and codicils, Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, and myself, also the Abbé Vignali, who was called for the same purpose. General Bertrand then made in his presence the following *procès verbal*, or inventory of the nine sealed packets:

Upon that numbered I. was written "This is my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet numbered II., "This is a second codicil to my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet without any number, "This is a third codicil

to my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed and sealed with my arms. To be opened the same day and immediately after the opening of my will. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon another packet without any number, "This is my fourth codicil, forming a sequel to my will. To be opened the same day that my will is read."

Upon a packet numbered V., "This is my codicil or record of my last will and desire; the execution of which I recommend to my very dear wife, the Empress Maria Louisa. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet numbered VI., "This is my codicil or record of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my son, Eugène Napoleon, written entirely by my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet without any number, "These are instructions for my three executors, Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand. I have executed a will and seven codicils, which I have deposited with Marchand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

The Emperor having thus, as he wished, put his affairs in order, employed himself for a long time in considering what our condition and employments would be on our return to Europe. He conversed with his executors upon the course they would have to adopt upon their arrival in England and France, in order that his ashes might not remain in exile at St. Helena. I extract in this place, from the verbal instructions that he gave, those which related to the King of Rome: "You will induce him to resume the name of Napoleon as soon as he shall have attained the age of discretion, and that he can do it opportunely. If fortune should be propitious to him, and he should ascend the throne of France, it is the duty of my executors to call his attention to the debt of gratitude I owe to my old officers and soldiers, and to my faithful adherents. The recollection of me should form the glory of his life; you will do every thing to encourage this feeling in him; you will direct his ideas to facts and events; you ought to find in the possession of Albe, Fain, Menneval, and Bourrienne, many papers and documents of the highest interest to him. Unless fortune should restore France to my family, I desire that my nephews and nieces should form marriages amongst themselves, and settle either in the Roman States, in America, or in Switzerland, so that my blood should not mingle in the courts of kings. To the Empress Maria Louisa, you will, either by letter or in a personal interview, express the esteem and high sentiments I entertain for her; recommend to her my son, whose only resource and chance of success is on her side. Make a collection of paintings, of books, and of medals, such as can give to my son true ideas, and destroy those false ones which foreign policy has been able, no doubt, to inculcate, in order that he may learn the real state of things. When my campaigns of Italy and of

Egypt, as well as those manuscripts which I leave, shall be printed, I desire they may be dedicated to my son; I wish also that to these may be added the letters from sovereigns; they may be procured in the Archives: the national vanity will gain much by the publication of them, so that the permission to obtain them will not be refused."

This last desire of Napoleon was executed by the publication of a part only of those manuscripts which were dictated by him to the Generals Gourgaud and Montholon; the remainder are in the possession of General Bertrand, to whom I have been indebted for the permission to print the "Notes upon the Commentaries of Cæsar," which have been in my hands during the last eighteen months. The nature of my service obliged me to be near the person of the Emperor, for he constantly did me the honour to desire I would read to him, or write from his dictation. It was in this manner that the "Notes on the Commentaries of Cæsar" were written by me, and dictated by Napoleon, during his long and sleepless nights, "during which," he would say, "study and occupation bring some alleviation to my sufferings, and strew a few flowers on the path that conducts me to the grave."

It was my intention to have added to that work, my recollections of our stay on the Isle of Elba, of the Hundred Days, and of St. Helena, but not in the form of a diary, for I should have been guilty of a want of that respect and fidelity with which we were all actuated towards the person of the Emperor, if I had kept one without his permission.

The last moments of a great man offer so much interest, that it is incumbent on those who have been witnesses of them, to transmit the particulars to future ages. I shall here, therefore, give a few particulars relative to the Emperor, during the last hours of his illustrious life: they are in part taken from my notes, and some are supplied by my memory, where they are and ever must be, indelibly fixed.

The hours which preceded the death of Napoleon were employed in serious conversation, or in reading aloud, more than in the care of his health. The last two readings which were made to the Emperor by his desire were, the Campaigns of Hannibal, read to him by Count Bertrand; and the other, which I had the honour to read, were the Campaigns of Dumouriez. The last dictation that he undertook was to Count Montholon, in the night of the 29th of April: it was a project of a military organization for France, and entitled, "Première Rêverie." From four to five o'clock in the morning he continued to dictate to me the same subject, after the Count had retired, desiring me to call it "Seconde Rêverie," and to annex it to the other part.

I am not aware that these papers have hitherto been published. Would it not be matter of regret if these last thoughts of the Emperor, uttered on the brink of the grave, were lost?

'AINTING BY MEISSONIER. PUBLICATION AUT

THE GUIDE.

When he had finished, he told me that he felt capable of riding fifteen leagues. Alas ! this state was not to last long.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the 2d of May, being much occupied with testamentary matters, and expressing often a tender anxiety for his son, the Emperor dictated to me the following paper:

"I leave to my son the house I occupied at Ajaccio, with its accessories; two other houses in the neighbourhood of Salines, with their gardens; also, all my property in the territory of Ajaccio, which, united, will furnish him with an annual income of fifty thousand francs.

"I leave . . . . ." He now found himself so much fatigued that he could dictate no more: he postponed the remainder until the morrow; his memory seemed to fail, and the existence of this great man was also rapidly advancing towards a close.

I knew the property that belonged to the Emperor in Corsica, and was perfectly aware while he dictated this last legacy, that he possessed nothing of the kind he specified, and could not, therefore, leave it to his son. I perceived several times during this day great incoherency in his manner, both in speaking and dictating. This aberration of mind continued at intervals until the 5th of May, when his great genius quitted this earth for an endless tranquillity.

During the night of the 4th he was much agitated. Amidst a long and continued delirium the words "France, army," were frequently though indistinctly uttered by him; and these were the last sounds we heard from his lips. The Emperor spoke no more !

At four o'clock in the morning a comparative calm succeeded the troubles of the night: it was the serenity of courage, the peace of resignation. The eye of the Emperor became fixed; his mouth remained open: a few drops of saccharine water given to him by Dr. Antommarchi seemed to animate his pulse; a sigh escaped from his noble bosom; but we had still hope.

At six o'clock, all the French who were attached to the service of Napoleon were permitted to enter his room. They endeavoured to stifle the grief that oppressed them: they approached the bed on which he lay: the silence of the chamber of death chilled our very souls. We looked steadfastly on the dying Emperor, occasionally watching with anxious eye the countenance of the doctor, as though we would read in his features some expression of hope. But it was in vain: relentless death approached !

At half-past six o'clock in the evening a gun from the fort announced "the retreat;" the sun sank below the horizon; it was also the moment that this great man, who had commanded the world, was enveloped in immortal glory. The anxiety of

Dr. Antommarchi increased. That hand which had so often commanded victory was now arrested by death. Dr. Arnott, holding his watch, looked on it with fixed attention, to count the intervals of pulsation, and the moments between the lingering sighs. Fifteen seconds—then thirty; now a minute intervenes. We waited: we hoped. Alas! the Emperor was dead!

His lips were colourless; his mouth was slightly contracted; his eyes open, but fixed; his countenance was calm and serene.

Our tears flowed at this instant with increased force, for hitherto they had been compressed by an overpowering grief. The children of Madame Bertrand were permitted once more to kiss that hand which, during six years, had lavished on them so much tenderness. The scene of desolation was to their young hearts too appalling to support: the eldest fainted, and they were all removed from the chamber.

In a few minutes Captain Croket was introduced by Dr. Arnott, to verify the hour of the Emperor's death: his countenance indicated the feelings of his heart. He immediately retired with much respect, and expressed his sorrow at the obligation imposed on him. Immediately afterwards two English doctors entered, and having placed their hands on the heart of the Emperor, withdrew to certify to Sir Hudson Lowe the report of Dr. Arnott.

Thus perished the Emperor Napoleon, surrounded by only a few faithful and devoted servants, exiled beyond the reach of those natural objects of affection which man seeks in the last and most trying moments of need—a mother, a wife, and a child. I have read in the last work published relating to St. Helena, that the Emperor, after having eulogised the Duke of Marlborough, and after presenting to Dr. Arnott, for the 20th regiment, a copy of that general's campaigns, turned the duke into ridicule after he had dismissed the English doctor, and sung the first verse of the well-known ballad, written on Marlborough: I declare that I have no knowledge of any such circumstance. I was present, as well as the author of the work alluded to (the Emperor having sent for me), when the present of the books in question took place. Napoleon had passed in a sort of critical review the great generals, and stopping at the name of Marlborough, applauded his tactics and courage. With that solemn tone of voice, which Napoleon knew so well how to assume when he wished to stamp his munificence with an imposing character, he said, "Doctor, I love the brave of every nation; I wish to make a present to the 20th regiment; take these volumes, and place them from me in their library."

When at St. Helena, the Emperor honoured General Bertrand with an exchange of his own watch for that of the count; he attached even to this act a glorious recollection: "Take this,

Bertrand," said he; "it struck two in the morning when I ordered Jaubert to attack Rivoli." It was thus the Emperor knew how to add a value to his gifts.

In the same volume relating to St. Helena, we read that the Emperor gave very long and minute instructions to the Abbé Vignali, respecting the room in which he was to lie in state, which ceremony was to be conducted by the abbé: "The Emperor," says the author, "saw something in my face that displeased him." My memory and my notes assist me perfectly to confirm this circumstance: but the following words said to be spoken by him, do not appear to have any just foundation: "You are above these idle weaknesses, but what would you have me do? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician." It would have been more faithful to have related the exact conversation of the Emperor with the Abbé Vignali.

I shall not here endeavour to refute the errors which have been written respecting the Emperor, but prefer concluding this sketch by the very flattering homage Napoleon paid to one of our most celebrated physicians. "Do you know Larrey?" said the Emperor one day to Dr. Arnott, during his visit. "I only know him by name," replied the latter. This question arose out of a conversation, wherein the Emperor endeavoured to ascertain whether the English lost more of their wounded soldiers after a battle, than the French army. Arnott admitted that the French surgeons were very clever, but he thought that the greater loss was almost always on the side of the Emperor. The latter believed the contrary, and gave as a reason, the great care and extraordinary talent of Larrey, of whom he spoke in the following terms: "What an intrepid and worthy man is Larrey! How sedulously did he employ himself to the army of Egypt during the painful passage of the Desert, as well as after the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, and in Europe. I formed an esteem and an opinion of him which he never forfeited. If the army should ever erect a monument of gratitude, it should be dedicated to Larrey!"

If we have been happy enough to collect and to gather the last words of the Emperor, let us remember that, in reciting them faithfully, we only give publicity to that which must honour a virtuous man, and one who has so well merited the good opinion of France and of her ruler.

(Signed) MARCHAND.

Paris, 1st of June, 1835.

## THE WILL OF NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON.

*This 15th of April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena. This is my Testament, or Act of my last Will.*

1. I die in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

3. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto;—"*Every thing for the French people.*"

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its * * *. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette.

I forgive them—May the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "*Manuscript of St. Helena,*" and other works, under the title of *Maxims, Sayings,* &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way.

II.—1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father, of whom the universe will discourse to him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

NAPOLEON II., DUKE OF REICHSTADT.

From an engraving by Ramus, after Philippoteaux.

Paris (no date).

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer of my Old Guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz), one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs.

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo di Rostino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavallette, one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one hundred thousand francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labédoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartrand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travôt, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand, the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastelica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Menneval, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of Marius, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

33. Item. To Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To Surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815; and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. since July, 1815. The account thereof will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children; and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.—1. My private domain being my property, of which I am not aware that any French law has deprived me, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof: it ought to amount to more than two hundred millions of francs; namely, 1. The portfolio, containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which savings amounted to more than twelve millions per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts of which will be rendered by Prince Eugene and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

NAPOLEON.

(*Second Sheet.*)

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army, who have fought since 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the nation; the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service; and one half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Mêri. I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

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LIST (A).

*Annexed to my Will.*

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
this 15th April, 1821.

I.—1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.—1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobieski, my dagger, my broad sword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.—1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or comfit-boxes; the second, twelve boxes with the imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries, on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals, habitually used by the Emperor; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the list numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of every thing used in my toilet.

5. My washhand-stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bedchamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I entrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal valet-de-chambre, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.—1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sèvres china, which I used at St. Helena. (List B and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.—1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Noverraz, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.—1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

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### LIST (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Maria-Louisa, to my mother, and to each of my brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal; and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

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List (A).

*Inventory of my Effects, which Marchand will take care of and convey to my son.*

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarum-clock: it is the alarum-clock of Frederic II., which I took at Potsdam. (In box No. III.)

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch: Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.)

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My washhand-stand, its water-jug, foot-bath, &c.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau-de-vie, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, No. I. II. III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

*Body Linen.*

Six shirts. Six handkerchiefs. Six cravats. Six napkins. Six pair of silk stockings. Four black stocks. Six pair of under-stockings. Two pair of cambric sheets. Two pillow-cases. Two dressing-gowns. Two pair of night-drawers. One pair of braces. Four pair of white kerseymere breeches and vests. Six madras. Six flannel-waistcoats. Four pair of drawers. Six pair of gaiters. One small box filled with my snuff. One gold neck-buckle. One pair gold knee-buckles. One pair gold shoe-buckles, contained in the little box, No. III.

*Clothes.*

One uniform of the Chasseurs. One uniform of the Grenadiers. One uniform of the National Guard. Two hats. One green-and-gray great-coat. One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo). One sable green pelisse. Two pair of shoes. Two pair of boots. One pair of slippers. Six belts.

Napoleon.

List (B).

*Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur the Count de Turenne.*

One sabre of Sobiesky. (It is, by mistake, inserted in list (A). that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand.)

One Grand Collar of the Legion of Honour.
One sword of silver-gilt.
One Consular sword.
One sword of steel.
One velvet belt.
One Collar of the Golden Fleece.
One small dressing-case of steel.
One night-lamp of silver.
One handle of an antique sabre.
One hat *à la* Henry IV., and a *toque*.* The lace of the Emperor
One small cabinet of medals.
Two Turkey carpets.
Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small-clothes.

I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.
Do. the Collar of the Legion of Honour.
Do. the sword silver-gilt.
Do. the Consular sword.
Do. the steel sword.
Do. the collar of the Golden Fleece.
Do. the hat *à la* Henry IV., and the *toque*.
Do. the golden dressing-case for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist.

To the Empress Maria Louisa, my lace.
To Madame, the silver night-lamp.
To the Cardinal, the small steel dressing-case.
To Prince Eugène, the wax-candlestick, silver gilt.
To the Princess Pauline, the small cabinet of medals.
To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.
To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.
To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.
To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and smallclothes.
To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and smallclothes.

Napoleon.

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April 16, 1821, Longwood.

*This is a Codicil to my Will.*

1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well.

2. I bequeath to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally every thing that belongs to me in the island of St. Helena.

This codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L. S.) Napoleon.

* A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.

This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

*This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will.*

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present Codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont-Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me: she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. Item, two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

6. Item, to Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levi, the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the Revolution, or to his widow, children, or grand-children, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand francs.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavallette, one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say:

Twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.
Twenty-five thousand to Noverraz, my *chasseur*.
Twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books.
Twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former doorkeeper.

13. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say:

Forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer.
Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately housekeeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.
Twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.
Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château, who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the

Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors; those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

[On the back of the Codicil is written :]

This is my codicil, or act of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my dearest wife, the Empress Maria Louisa.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

[Attested by the following witnesses, whose seals are respectively affixed :]

MONTHOLON, BERTRAND, MARCHAND, VIGNALI. } A piece of green silk.

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*Sixth Codicil.*

Monsieur Lafitte, I remitted to you, in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of near six millions, for which you have given me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I charge Count Montholon to present you with the other receipt, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of five per cent., from the first of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account may be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and this settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box, containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will give it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

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Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the 25th of April, 1821.

*Seventh Codicil.*

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you to deliver the account and the balance, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is my Codicil, or Note of my last Will.*

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the viceroy is the depositary, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son Eugène Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand three hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be applied according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

4. To Marchand, one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, one hundred thousand thousand francs.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say:

Ten thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.
Ten thousand to St. Denis, my head *chasseur*.
Ten thousand to Noverraz.
Ten thousand to Cursot, my clerk of the kitchen.
Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron de Mennevalle, fifty thousand francs.

13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labédoyère, fifty thousand francs.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, fifty thousand francs.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travôt, fifty thousand francs.

18. To the children of Chartrand, fifty thousand francs.

19. To General Cambrone, fifty thousand francs.

20. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, fifty thousand francs.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, and upon their orders, one hundred thousand francs.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living,

according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guards shall be paid double; those of the island of Elba, quadruple; two hundred thousand francs.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821, at Longwood.

*This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.*

1. Amongst the diamonds of the crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs, not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur de la Perruse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the duke be dead before payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead before the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud (to him who was proscribed) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant-commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of article thirty-six of my testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by will amount to the sum of six millions four hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

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[On the outside, nearly in the centre, is written:]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

[The words are intermixed with the signatures of Bertrand, Mon-

tholon, Marchand, and Vignali, with their respective seals; and a piece of green silk runs through the centre. On the upper left corner are the following directions :]

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.*

By the dispositions we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery, and formerly Lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery; it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the convention, Gasparin, representative of the people to the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the committee of public safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson of our aide-de-camp, Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this general, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs, Ney, Labédoyère, &c.; and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six millions four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six millions eight hundred and ten thou-

sand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, article thirty-six, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and law-suits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain three per cent. upon all the legacies, as well upon the six millions eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two hundred millions of francs of the private domains.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary, the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLEON.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

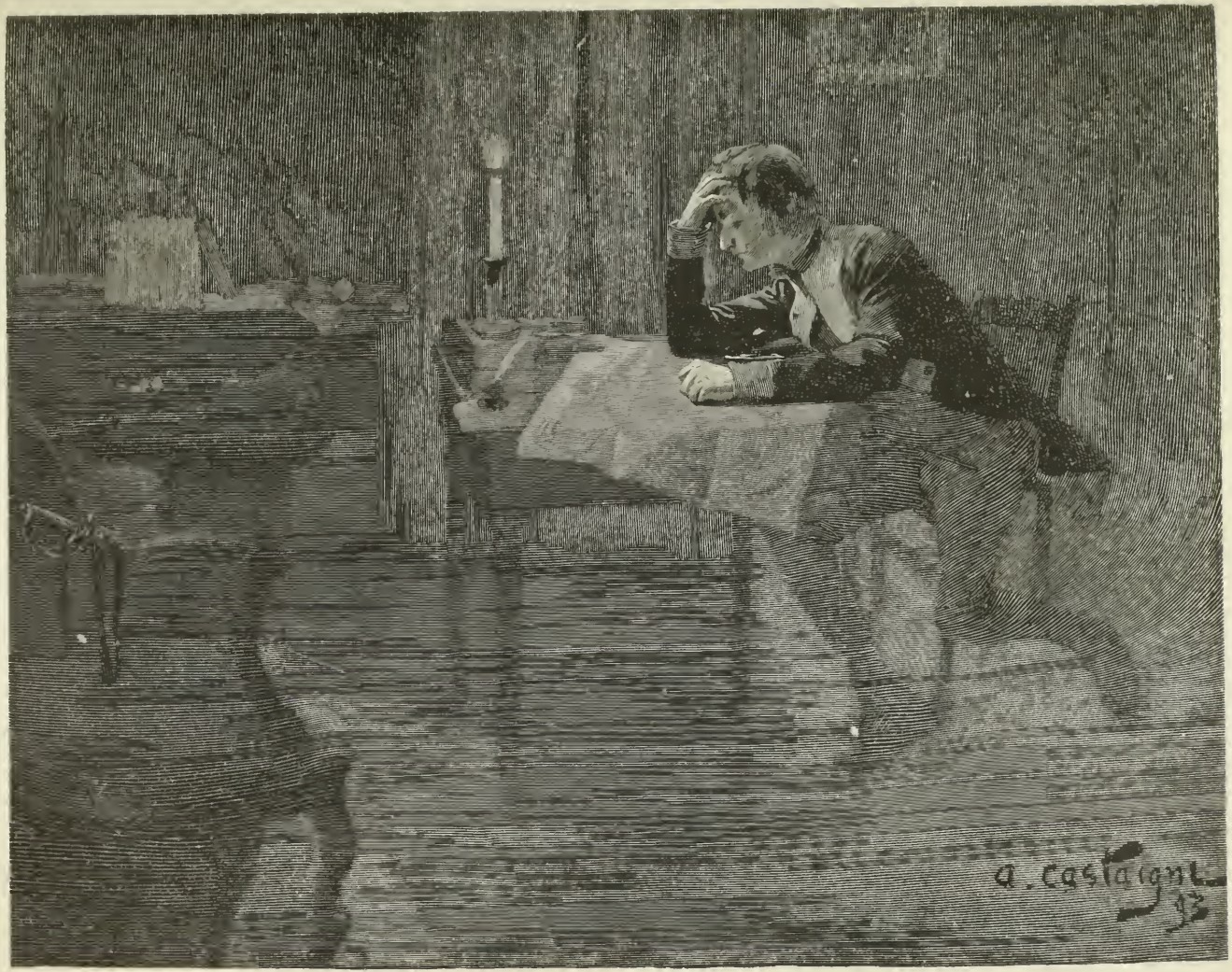
### SKETCH OF THE CAREER OF NAPOLEON.

BY THE COUNT ST. LEU (LOUIS BONAPARTE).

NAPOLEON was born under French laws and on the French territory. Reared up in its bosom he became acquainted with foreign countries and beautiful Italy, whence his family derived its origin, only when at the head of the immortal legions of France. His family which resided in a small town, was in easy circumstances, without possessing great riches; but in the 13th century his ancestors had been distinguished in Tuscany and in the Trevisian Marches, and had even enjoyed sovereign privilege in Treviso.

I am far from attaching any material importance to the circumstance of birth; I merely repeat a fact, because libellers have been pleased to spread false reports concerning our family. As to all else it appears to me that nobility may be compared to the impression on money, which is real if the metal it covers has an intrinsic value, but which is nothing and worthless if the metal be false and valueless. He was not the eldest of his family, but occupied that rank, and filled the office of chief of his house from the earliest period. In the military schools of Brienne and Paris he distinguished himself, and enjoyed an extraordinary consideration for his age both from the professors and from his companions.

It was necessary to submit to two examinations in order to receive the rank of an officer of artillery, and to pass from the military schools into a regiment; he alone went through them both at one time, and was received without opposition in the most brilliant manner at seventeen years of age, either into the regiment of La Fere or that of Grenoble, in which he served before the Revolution; he there enjoyed a reputation considerably above his years. I shall not stop at the contemptible assertion that Napoleon ran the risk of being thrown into the river by




ENGRAVED BY M. HAIDER.

BONAPARTE, THE STUDENT, AT AUXONNE.

his comrades; on the contrary, it was they who saved him one day when the cramp having attacked him in swimming, he was in great danger of perishing.

As I was myself intended for the corps of artillery, I went through the necessary studies, and it was for this purpose that I accompanied my brother to Auxonne, where his regiment (that of La Fere) was garrisoned. I recollect, as well as my extreme youth would permit me, that my brother accomplished the solution of a problem proposed to all officers of artillery, after having been shut up in his apartment for seventy-two hours in order to complete his purpose.

At the period of the Revolution, and when every thing announced approaching war, he was at Valence, in the regiment of Grenoble, to which he had been promoted. At this time all the officers who had not emigrated, had permission to return home, in order to prepare for the campaign. We returned to Corsica, where he was soon after appointed to one of the newly-levied battalions.

A law, which appears to have been made for him, allowed the fresh-levied troops to select chiefs from amongst officers of the line, and allowed the latter the liberty of afterwards returning to their old regiments, keeping the rank they had received in the year. This law was intended to induce officers at that time to enter the battalions as volunteers, in order that the latter might be promptly organized and instructed. It had, however, a particular application to Napoleon, who belonged to the privileged corps of artillery. In this corps promotion, depending entirely on seniority, he could not have attained for many years the rank of a superior officer; but having been named a chief of battalion in the newly-raised troops, he returned soon after to his regiment of Grenoble, as a superior officer, at that time scarcely twenty-four years of age. He then joined the expedition to Sardinia, under Admiral Truguet and old General Casa Bianca, and commanded a corps which was directed to attack the islands of Magdalena. His attack succeeded, and he returned to Corsica in consequence of the failure of the principal operations. It was then that old General Paoli, commandant of Corsica, delivered up the island to the English, and that Napoleon, faithful to his duty, and not to be persuaded to betray his country, rejoined his regiment in the army of Italy, the head-quarters of which were at Nice, and retained his rank of lieutenant-colonel.

A short time after, on his return from his commission of inspecting the different arsenals, he visited his family at Marseilles, where they then resided, and with whom I then was. He was retained, and to use the expression of the times, put in requisition to command the artillery at the neighbouring siege of Toulon, although he was only a lieutenant-colonel, in order

to replace General Dommartin, who had just been severely wounded.

I am astonished that Sir Walter Scott, in his Life of Napoleon, should not only venture to criticise him, but that he should even go so far as to give him lessons in tactics. As these instructions were not published in the time of Napoleon, it is not surprising that the latter did not profit by them. The author cannot conscientiously reproach him for it; nevertheless, he must allow that he whose actions he sometimes denominates *extravagances*, and sometimes *the effects of the rarest talent*, had something more than this in him! Let him observe Napoleon at the age of twenty-four, before a seaport town occupied by a strong combined army, and defended by a numerous fleet, at the head of a few troops, in part newly levied, driving away the enemy's ships, and seizing upon the place, with a weak artillery, not by opening the trenches, and observing the long rules of circumvallation, intrenchments, &c., which were not applicable to the situation, but by a superior and perfectly novel act. His eagle eye marked out the spot, the possession of which would enable him to disperse the fleet, and render the place untenable.

Having joined the army of Italy as commandant of artillery, he gave council to the aged and valetudinarian General-in-chief du Merbion, and directed the movements of the troops: the impregnable position of Saorgio was stormed; Oneille Garesio, Ormea were occupied, the battle of Cairo was won, and the route into Italy was laid open. But the general-in-chief and the representatives, who possessed all the power, became alarmed at the plan of the campaign he presented to them, and the success of the army was thus stopped. A short time afterwards, being in Paris, and summoned to the assistance of Government, which was threatened by the greater part of the population of the capital, he commanded in chief, although nominally only second in command, repulsed every attack, and quelled the sedition.

Being soon afterwards raised to the principal command of the army in Italy, he put into execution the plan he had previously proposed to du Merbion. He conquered in the very places he had previously pointed out, divided the Piedmontese and Austrian armies, detached Piedmont from the coalition formed against France, invaded Italy, which he progressively conquered advanced into Germany, and succeeded in forcing the Emperor of Austria, whose capital he threatened, into a peace. Intrusted after the peace with the command of the French army in the east, he crossed the Mediterranean at the head of a squadron and of a considerable armament, in defiance of the English fleet; seized on the island of Malta, hitherto reputed impregnable, almost under the eyes of Nelson, and

FROM A COPPERPLATE ENGRAVING BY WILLIAM DANIELL, AFTER A DRAWING BY GEORGE DANCE.

PAOLI IN OLD AGE.

in spite of the English fleet. He departed from Malta, landed in Egypt, and seized on Alexandria.

A few weeks after he gained several general actions, destroyed the Mamelukes, and conquered the whole of Egypt. When far from his sight, his fleet was destroyed near Alexandria, which the Ottomans and the English prepared to attack on all sides, he crossed the desert, and possessed himself of the whole of Syria, except St. Jean d'Acre. There he experienced his first reverse; but, far from being cast down, he returned into Egypt to defend his conquest against a powerful Mussulman army, which he defeated at Aboukir. A mere general of the Directory or Government of France, he was informed of its distresses, and ventured to return to its succour. He once again crossed the Mediterranean in despite of Nelson and the English fleet, and disembarked at Frejus. He was received and led in triumph to Paris, where he was placed with two colleagues at the head of the Government. France had lost Italy; the suppressed factions again became powerful; the finances were in distress, the treasury empty, credit lost, the territory menaced on all sides. In a few weeks afterward the treasury was replenished, credit restored, the nation reassured, and the armies recruited and strengthened. In the mean time the Austrians had advanced upon the Var, and threatened Provence. Genoa in the occupation of the French, and defended by the intrepid Masséna, the conqueror of Zurich, was pressed by the victorious armies of the enemy, who had become masters of the whole of Italy, and of the numerous strong places of that beautiful territory. The Italians, whom the French had formerly summoned to independence by the voice of Napoleon, turned towards them with hopeless regret; could they a second time perform what they had achieved in 1796, except through a series of extraordinary successes?

The allies were on the frontiers of France; the whole of Italy in the power of the coalition, their strong places, their armies, twice as numerous as those of France, deprived the Italians of all hope. If even the French could have regained their superiority, could they venture to hope that they should again conquer Italy and renew the same prodigies?

Nevertheless Napoleon set out on his campaign, and by a conception which surpassed that of Hannibal and Cæsar, he passed the Alps in the rear of the enemy, and whilst the latter advanced upon Provence, Napoleon, whose progress the Alps, defended by natural and impregnable fortresses, could not arrest, occupied the vast plains of Piedmont, obliged the enemy to retrace his steps, and in the plains of Marengo, in a single day, notwithstanding the fall of Genoa, which Masséna had defended against every thing but absolute famine, he gained the brilliant victory of Marengo over Melas, forced him to capitulate, and in one day conquered all the strong places of Piedmont, one of

which alone might have occupied his army during a whole campaign. At a later period when a new coalition was formed, he passed the Rhine, possessed himself of Germany and Vienna, the capital of Austria, and concluded a peace after having defeated the united armies of Prussia and Austria, at Austerlitz. The following year, when threatened by the powerful and warlike monarchy of Prussia, he marched, and in a single day at Jena, he destroyed the armies of Frederick and took possession of the monarchy and the capital. Two years afterwards another coalition was again formed, and though he was in the midst of Spain with his veteran legions, he accepted the defiance of Austria, and flew in person with prodigious celerity from Burgos to Ratisbon; and at the head of a body of troops, principally composed of Bavarians, he defeated the Austrian armies, and advanced upon Vienna, which he occupied a second time, and threatened for the fourth.

He dared to conceive the prodigious Russian campaign, and formed a combined army with astonishing rapidity, for the attack of that great empire, unaided by Poland, that is to say, without the independence of that country, and despite of every obstacle he arrived at the ancient capital of the Northern empire; when alike deceived by the policy of the enemy, by flattery, and perhaps by perfidious suggestions, he ventured to remain on the ruins of the burning city of Moscow. What energy, what perseverance, what activity, what vigilance, in short, what genius did it not require to resist in this position all that simultaneously attacked him!

I repeat, that it was scarcely to be expected that a single man could have escaped this frightful catastrophe, and whatever may be said against Napoleon, he cannot be denied the merit of having preserved every link in the chain of command, and of having saved the feeble remains of the grand army which escaped either in the march to Smolensko or the astonishing passage of the Beresina. Instead of his detractors accusing him of undergoing any alteration in his moral faculties, they ought rather to be astonished at their vigour, since they sufficed to save him from so extraordinary a situation. In fact, every individual member of the grand army, defeated by the elements, by unheard-of fatigues, by bodily suffering, by innumerable enemies, in short, by misfortunes great as the imagination can reach, must have been morally overwhelmed by so many fatalities. What was not due then to him to whom all looked up, who was intrusted with the command, with the general direction, and who was obliged to think for all, and to provide in the best manner against every evil, who had only the physical faculties of others, and experienced the same wants and the same sufferings? I do not think history, in its greatest military details, possesses any thing comparable to the Russian campaign, nor any thing which can equal the sublimity, for the right expression fails me, with

which the French army rose from the catastrophe in the plains of Bautzen and Lutzen. Imagine an army hastily formed, consisting of youths, from the age of eighteen to twenty, and of men from the depots with a few companies of marines, who had never served in the line; imagine an army, I say, united and formed under the eye of Napoleon, and manœuvring without cavalry, and with heavy besieging artillery, in an open country, supplying every thing by enthusiasm, courage, and genius, arresting the veteran legions of the north and depriving them of victory. Next contemplate Napoleon at Dresden, betrayed and surrounded on all sides, boldly encountering every thing, and it will be granted that this spectacle was the greatest ever recorded in the annals of war. At Leipsic, it is true, he was near falling under the double weight of his accumulated enemies, and of the allies who abandoned him, but he passed over their bodies at Hanau, and a second time regained his frontiers, as if by enchantment, and when it would seem he must have perished with the last of his soldiers. Let us view him during the campaign of France, facing innumerable armies with a handful of brave soldiers, seizing again upon victory the moment she escaped from him, despite of both open and secret treachery.

During his campaigns in Italy he protected the priests and emigrants; he would not destroy the petty princes whom the fate of war placed in some sort at the mercy of the army, and signed with them treaties which cost them, it is true, contributions in money and in works of art, but which assured to them their political existence, at least for a time, and as long as Napoleon could command it. Subordinate to the Directory, he both resisted the orders of the latter, who desired the destruction of the Holy See and the dictates of false glory, by halting at Tolentino, and as it were at the gates of Rome; he there concluded a peace with the Holy See, and saved it from the overthrow, which the Directory effected at a later period when Napoleon no longer commanded in Italy. When he subscribed the armistice of Leoben, and afterwards of Campo Formio, he outstepped his instructions, and acted as if he had been the governor of France.

He every where showed himself just, severe, economical, an enemy to pillage, and the terror of depredators. In conquered countries he was really a governor, and there first manifested the superior talent and genius which he fully displayed at a later period. When he attained the Consulate, his colleagues were eclipsed, and he alone governed France.

On his promotion to the empire it was not France only that he governed, but all the allied countries, and his influence soon extended throughout Europe, and even beyond it.

We thus find that he was at an early age an exception to general rules. One may affirm, without exaggeration, that he was born with the instinct for command and superiority. The

character of Napoleon announced itself from its infancy, and never belied itself; he was eminently French: perhaps he pushed this affection to extremes.

He undoubtedly loved glory passionately. We may address to him the reproaches which Alexander, Charlemagne, and so many other heroes, have deserved infinitely more. He has, moreover, explained himself on this head in the most precise manner, and no one but himself would so reply and justify himself; but it will be averred by those who knew him personally, as well as by those who will judge his memory impartially, that no one amongst those upon whom depended the fate of nations, was less vindictive and less cruel. He was sober, and possessed only the nobler passions. It is vain to dwell upon the horrors with which it has been attempted to taint his manners; since the accusations rest solely upon the reports and the sarcasms of libels, they may well be the appendage of such ephemeral writings, but they do not belong to the province of history. It is undeniable that, as the husband of a first wife much older than himself, he lived with her as a husband in the greatest harmony until the last day of their union, without giving her any cause of complaint.

It is also undeniable that he cannot be reproached with any titled mistress, nor any scandal, and that when he married a second time, at forty-two years of age, he displayed towards his second wife a courtesy, an amiability, a gracefulness, and an attention, which never failed. We must, in answer to an accusation of Sir Walter Scott, respecting the egotism of Napoleon, here relate what passed before the birth of his son, when the celebrated Dubois reported to him that the alarming circumstances of the accouchement endangered both the mother and child, and that he must submit to the loss of either one or the other. He replied, *above all things save the mother.* Is not such conduct a sufficiently formal contradiction given the author beforehand?

His field sports were neither injurious nor burdensome to the public. Even the luxury of his court had for its object the advancement of arts and manufactures, while its simplicity was extreme. His administration was admirable; it bore the stamp of genius, and deserves as much study as his campaigns; and his enemies must allow that they were despite themselves his pupils.

From him may be dated the increased activity and vigilance of governments; and since his time, utility and improvement have become their principal objects; and his enemies will vainly deny that they are compelled to follow in the track which he has laid down. It cannot be forgotten that he was the promoter of the general and uniform codes which govern France. What difficulties had he not to encounter and overcome, in wounded self-love and private interests? With what perseverance did he not

attain to this noble and generous end? His genius is displayed in all his actions, and chiefly in those immortal assemblies in which the most distinguished men of France met together to discuss its code of laws. He mingled in their discussions as if he had been a consummate lawyer. On quitting the cabinet, where he had just combined his plans of campaign, or discussed the difficult affairs of policy and administration, he entered the council of state. and put himself on a level with the Portalis and Tronchets. Whatever changes may occur in these immortal codes, it will never be forgotten that he was their author, for if this title justly belongs to princes who have conceived the idea of collecting and classifying the laws, it appertains by a still greater reason to him who took an active part in their composition. Perfection belongs to God alone; every mortal who approaches towards it is wise, but he who pretends to have attained it, proves himself to be a madman. Where is the hero, the conqueror, who is irreproachable? Titus, who is considered as the best of princes, may he not, as I have already remarked, be accused of the death of more than a million Jews? Did he not crucify his unfortunate prisoners in sight of the desolate people of Jerusalem. War and the cares of government not only demand a firm but an almost insensible heart, and this is the lot of great men. As for me, I scarcely envy those who are crowned with the *halo* of glory; but while I render full justice to the beauty, the splendour, and the merit of great actions, I confess that fame is only acquired at a price too painful for and incompatible with a sensitive heart.

Let those who accuse Napoleon of having held the reins with too firm a hand, and of having neglected all secondary considerations, in order to advance the general interests of France, think upon the extreme difficulty of the times and of his situation, and chiefly of the almost impossibility of escape from the snares of flattery and the systems of intestine intrigue carried on against the commencement of his power, perhaps even from his campaigns in Italy, and he will be fully justified.

He fell at length beneath long premeditated treason, and vicissitudes of fortune, at a time when the boldest and most skilful of his manœuvres would have produced the most brilliant and decisive victories, if Paris had held out for a few days.

He fell, but armed, and possessing the esteem and even the respect of his enemies, the tears of his warriors and the fond regrets of the great majority of the nation. He was recalled only a few months previously by these wishes and regrets, and almost alone he reappeared upon the soil of his ancient empire against a powerful king, who was supported by the right of birth and the armies of all Europe. He reappeared, and in twenty days was re-established on the throne, carried almost in triumph, and without shedding a single drop of blood.

The coalition was formed anew he appeared on the field of

battle and victory gave him a passing acknowledgment, out as if she were taking her last farewell. He sunk at Waterloo, at Paris, and more deeply still at Rochfort, where he took the fatal resolution of placing himself in the hands of his most powerful, but the most ancient and the most infuriated of his enemies.

He perished after six years of agony, confined two thousand leagues from Europe—he whom so many battles had respected! He perished, but enmity itself, whilst overwhelming him with its last attacks, contributed to his triumph.

What greater proof could be given of the influence of his genius and of the affection of France than of the precaution of placing between her and Napoleon the immensity of the ocean?

What more conclusive proof can be afforded of the value and merit of such a prisoner than the precautions adopted to guard a single individual! The two thousand leagues of sea did not suffice; a body of troops and a fleet were also necessary. This was not even judged sufficient, and the belligerent powers sent a resident minister, commissioned to assure himself that Napoleon should not escape them. If Sir Walter Scott and the numerous cohort of periodical writers would for one instant be impartial, they would easily be convinced, that since the world was created there has never appeared a captain, a conqueror, a king, who could be compared with Napoleon.

L. DE SAINT LEU.

*Florence, May 26th,* 1828.

BONAPARTE CLOSING THE PANTHÉON CLUB.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON,

BY DR. CHANNING.

The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte by Sir Walter Scott has been anticipated with an eagerness, proportioned to the unrivalled power of the author, and to the wonderful endowments and fortunes of the hero. That the general expectation has been satisfied, we cannot affirm. But few will deny, that the writer has given us a monument of his great talents. The rapidity with which such a work has been thrown off astonishes us. We think, however, that the author owed to himself and to the public a more deliberate execution of this important undertaking. He should either have abandoned it, or have bestowed on it the long and patient labour which it required. The marks of negligence and haste, which are spread through the work, are serious blemishes, perhaps inexpiable defects. It wants compression and selection throughout. Many passages are encumbered with verbiage. Many thoughts are weakened by useless expansion, and worse than useless repetition. Comparisons are accumulated to excess, and whilst many are exquisite, perhaps as many are trite and unworthy of history. The remarks are generally just, but obvious, and we fear we must add, often superficial. We state these defects plainly, that we may express the more freely our admiration of the talents which have executed so rapidly a work so extensive and various, so rich in information, so fresh and vivid in description, and furnishing such abundant specimens of a free, graceful, and vigorous style.

The work has the great merit of impartiality. It is probably inaccurate in many of its details, but singularly free from prejudice and passion. Not a few, who considered that the author was both a Briton and a friend of the principles and policy of Pitt, were expecting from his pen a discoloured delineation of the implacable foe of England and of that great minister. But the rectitude of his mind, and his reverence for historical truth, have effectually preserved him from abusing the great power, conferred on him by his talents, over public opinion. We think that his laudable fear of wronging the enemy of his country, joined to an admiration of the dazzling qualities of Napoleon,

has led him to soften unduly the crimes of his hero, and to give more favourable impressions than truth will warrant.

But enough of the author, who needs not our praise, and can suffer little by our censure. Our concern is with his subject. A just estimate of the late Emperor of France seems to us important. That extraordinary man, having operated on the world with unprecedented power during his life, is now influencing it by his character. That character we apprehend is not viewed as it should be. The kind of admiration which it inspires, even in free countries, is a bad omen. The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights, and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence which is its due; and which if really felt, would fix on the usurper a brand of indelible infamy. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to its intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it, with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful, which no glare of successful war, and no admiration of the crowd, can induce us to suppress. We mean then to speak freely of Napoleon. But if we know ourselves, we could on no account utter one unjust reproach. We speak the more freely, because conscious of exemption from every feeling like animosity. We war not with the dead. We would resist only what we deem the pernicious influence of the dead. We would devote ourselves to the cause of freedom and humanity a cause perpetually betrayed by the admiration lavished on prosperous crime and all-grasping ambition. Our great topic will be the character of Napoleon; and with this we shall naturally intersperse reflections on the great interests which he perpetually influenced.

We begin with observing, that it is an act of justice to Bonaparte to remember, that he grew up under disastrous influences, in a troubled day, when men's minds were convulsed, old institutions overthrown, old opinions shaken, old restraints snapped asunder; when the authority of religion was spurned, and youth abandoned to unwonted licence; when the imagination was made feverish by visions of indistinct good, and the passions swelled by the sympathy of millions to a resistless torrent. A more dangerous school for the character cannot well be conceived. That All-seeing Being, who knows the trials of his creatures and the secrets of the heart, can alone judge to what degree crimes are extenuated by circumstances so inauspicious. This we must remember in reviewing the history of men, who were exposed to trials unknown to ourselves. But because the turpitude of an evil agent is diminished by infelicities of education or condition, we must not therefore confound the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, and withhold our reprobation from atrocities which have spread misery and slavery far and wide.

*H Vernet f.* *Engd*

NAPOLÉON EN 1815

# NAPOLEON IN 1815.

Fort des grands souvenirs de cinquante batailles,
D'un génie attesté par tant de funérailles,
De ce coup d'œil si sûr au milieu des combats,
De cette voix si chère au cœur de nos soldats,
Tu t'es trompé pourtant comme un esprit vulgaire,
Toi l'arbitre du monde et le dieu de la guerre !
Eh ! qui fit échouer ta sublime raison ?
Le fantasque hasard, l'obscure trahison !

Waterloo, *Chronique des cent jours.*

Horace Vernet has admirably conveyed in the countenance of Napoleon all the sentiments which animated the soul of "*le grand homme*" in the last moments of his military glory. Those who saw Napoleon at Waterloo have not failed to admire this painting, as well as the beautiful lithographic copy of it by M. Marin Levigne. Reveil has well translated it in the accompanying engraving.

It is also due to Napoleon to observe, that there has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of military and political life. The wrong-doing of public men on a large scale, has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. Nations have seemed to court aggression and bondage by their stupid, insane admiration of successful tyrants. The wrongs, from which men have suffered most, in body and mind, are yet unpunished. True, Christianity has put into our lips censures on the aspiring and the usurping. But these reproaches are as yet little more than sounds, and unmeaning commonplaces, They are repeated for form's sake. When we read or hear them, we feel that they want depth and strength. They are not inward, solemn, burning convictions, breaking from the indignant soul with a tone of reality, before which guilt would cower. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created. We believe, then, that such a character as Bonaparte's is formed with very little consciousness of its turpitude; and society, which contributes so much to its growth, is responsible for its existence, and merits in part the misery which it spreads.

Of the early influences under which Bonaparte war formed, we know little. He was educated in a military school, and this, we apprehend, is not an institution to form much delicacy, or independence of moral feeling; for the young soldier is taught, as his first duty, to obey his superior without consulting his conscience; to take human life at another's bidding; to perform that deed, which above all others requires deliberate conviction, without a moment's inquiry as to its justice, and to place himself a passive instrument in hands which, as all history teaches, often reek with blood causelessly shed.

His first political association was with the Jacobins, the most sanguinary of all the factions which raged in France, and whose sway is emphatically called "the reign of terror." The service which secured his command in Italy, was the turning of his artillery on the people, who, however dangerous when acting as a mob, happened in the present case to understand their rights, and were directing their violence against manifest usurpation.

His first campaign was in Italy, and we have still a vivid recollection of the almost rapturous admiration, with which we followed his first triumphs; for then we were simple enough to regard him as the chosen guardian of liberty. His peculiar tactics were not then understood; the secret of his success had not reached us; and his rapid victories stimulated the imagination to invest him with the mysterious powers of a hero of romance. We confess that we cannot now read the history of his Italian wars without a quickened movement in the veins. The rapidity of his conceptions; the inexhaustibleness of his invention; the energy of his will; the decision which suffered not

a moment's pause between the purpose and its execution; the presence of mind, which, amidst sudden reverses, and on the brink of ruin, devised the means of safety and success; these commanding attributes, added to a courage, which, however suspected afterwards, never faltered then, compel us to bestow, what indeed we have no desire to withhold, the admiration which is due to superior power.

Let not the friends of peace be offended. We have said, and we repeat it, that we have no desire to withhold our admiration from the energies which war often awakens. Great powers, even in their perversion, attest a glorious nature, and we may feel their grandeur, whilst we condemn with our whole strength of moral feeling, the evil passions by which they are depraved. We are willing to grant that war, abhor it as we may, often developes and places in strong light, a force of intellect and purpose, which raises our conception of the human soul. There is perhaps no moment in life, in which the mind is brought into such intense action, in which the will is so strenuous, and in which irrepressible excitement is so tempered with self-possession, as in the hour of battle. Still the greatness of the warrior is poor and low compared with the magnanimity of virtue. It vanishes before the greatness of principle. The martyr to humanity, to freedom, or to religion; the unshrinking adherent of despised and deserted truth; who alone, unsupported, and scorned, with no crowd to infuse into him courage, no variety of objects to draw his thoughts from himself, no opportunity of effort or resistance to rouse and nourish energy, still yields himself, calmly, resolutely, with invincible philanthropy, to bear prolonged and exquisite suffering, which one retracting word might remove; such a man is as superior to the warrior, as the tranquil and boundless heavens above us, to the low earth we tread beneath our feet.

We have spoken of the energies of mind called forth by war. If we may be allowed a short digression, which, however, bears directly on our main subject, the merits of Napoleon, we would observe, that military talent, even of the highest order, is far from holding the first place among intellectual endowments. It is one of the lower forms of genius; for it is not conversant with the highest and richest objects of thought. We grant that a mind, which takes in a wide country at a glance, and understands almost by intuition the positions it affords for a successful campaign, is a comprehensive and vigorous one. The general, who disposes his forces so as to counteract a greater force; who supplies by skill, science, and genius, the want of numbers; who dives into the counsels of his enemy, and who gives unity, energy, and success to a vast sphere of operations, in the midst of causualties and obstructions which no wisdom could foresee, manifests great power. But still the chief work of a general is to apply physical force; to remove physical obstructions; to

avail himself of physical aids and advantages; to act on matter; to overcome rivers, ramparts, mountains, and human muscles; and these are not the highest objects of mind, nor do they demand intelligence of the highest order; and accordingly nothing is more common than to find men, eminent in this department, who are almost wholly wanting in the noblest energies of the soul, in imagination and taste, in the capacity of enjoying works of genius, in large views of human nature, in the moral sciences, in the application of analysis and generalization to the human mind and to society, and in original conceptions on the great subjects which have absorbed the most glorious understandings. The office of a great general does not differ widely from that of a great mechanician, whose business it is to frame new combinations of physical forces, to adapt them to new circumstances and to remove new obstructions. Accordingly great generals away from the camp, are commonly no greater men than the mechanician taken from his workshop. In conversation they are often dull. Works of profound thinking on general and great topics they cannot comprehend. The conqueror of Napoleon, the hero of Waterloo, undoubtedly possesses great military talents, but we have never heard of his eloquence in the senate, or of his sagacity in the cabinet; and we venture to say, that he will leave the world, without adding one new thought on the great themes, on which the genius of philosophy and legislature has meditated for ages. We will not go down for illustration to such men as Nelson, a man great on the deck, but debased by gross vices, and who never pretended to enlargement of intellect. To institute a comparison in point of talent and genius between such men and Milton, Bacon, and Shakspeare, is almost an insult to these illustrious names.

Who can think of these truly great intelligences; of the range of their minds through heaven and earth; of their deep intuition into the soul; of their new and glowing combinations of thought; of the energy with which they grasped and subjected to their main purpose, the infinite materials of illustration which nature and life afford; who can think of the forms of transcendent beauty and grandeur which they created, or which were rather emanations of their own minds; of the calm wisdom and fervid impetuous imagination which they conjoined; of the dominion which they have exerted over so many generations, and which time only extends and makes sure; of the voice of power, in which, though dead, they still speak to nations, and awaken intellect, sensibility, and genius in both hemispheres; who can think of such men, and not feel the immense inferiority of the most gifted warrior, whose elements of thought are physical forces and physical obstructions, and whose employment is the combination of the lowest class of objects, on which a powerful mind can be employed?

We return to Napoleon. His splendid victories in Italy spread his name like lightning through the civilized world. Unhappily they imboldened him to those unprincipled and open aggressions, to the indulgence of that lawless, imperious spirit which marked his after course, and kept pace with his growing power. In his victorious career, he soon came in contact with States, some of which, as Tuscany and Venice, had acknowledged the French Republic, whilst others, as Parma and Modena, had observed a strict neutrality. The oldfashioned laws of nations, under which such States would have found shelter, seemed never to have crossed the mind of the young victor. Not satisfied with violating the neutrality of all, he seized the port of Leghorn, and ruined the once flourishing commerce of Tuscany; and having exacted heavy tribute from Parma and Modena, he compelled these powers to surrender, what had hitherto been held sacred in the utmost extremities of war, some of their choicest pictures, the chief ornaments of their capitals. We are sometimes told of the good done by Napoleon to Italy. But we have heard his name pronounced as indignantly there as here. An Italian cannot forgive him for robbing that country of its noblest works of art, its dearest treasures and glories, which had made it a land of pilgrimage to men of taste and genius from the whole civilized world, and which had upheld and solaced its pride under conquest and humiliation. From this use of power in the very dawn of his fortunes, it might easily have been foretold what part he would act in the stormy day which was approaching, when the sceptre of France and Europe was to be offered to any strong hand, which should be strong enough to grasp it.

Next to Italy, Egypt became the stage for the display of Napoleon; Egypt, a province of the Grand Signior, with whom France was in profound peace; and who, according to the long established relations of Europe, was her natural ally. It would seem, that this expedition was Bonaparte's own project. His motives are not very distinctly stated by his biographer. We doubt not that his great aim was conspicuousness. He chose a theatre where all eyes could be turned upon him. He saw that the time for usurpation had not yet come in France. To use his own language, 'the fruit was not yet ripe.' He wanted a field of action which would draw upon him the gaze of the world, and from which he might return at the favourable moment for the prosecution of his enterprises at home. At the same time he undoubtedly admitted into his mind, which success had already intoxicated, some vague wild hope of making an impression on the Eastern world, which might place its destinies at his command, and give him a throne more enviable than Europe could bestow. His course in the East exhibited the same lawlessness, the same contempt of all restraints on his power, which we have already noted. No means which pro-

mised success, were thought the worse for their guilt. It was not enough for him to boast of his triumphs over the cross, or to profess Mahometanism. He claimed inspiration, and a commission from God, and was anxious to join the character of prophet to that of hero. This was the beginning of the great weaknesses and errors into which he was betrayed by that spirit of self-exaggeration, which under the influence of past success and of unbounded flattery, was already growing into a kind of insanity. In his own view he was fit to be a compeer with Mahomet. His greatness in his own eyes made him blind to the folly of urging his supernatural claims on the Turk, who contemned, even more than he abhorred, a Frank; and who would sooner have sold himself a slave to Christians, than have acknowledged a renegade Christian as a sharer of the glories of Mahomet. It was not enough for Bonaparte, on this expedition, to insult God, to show an impiety as foolish as it was daring; he proceeded to trample on the sentiments and dictates of humanity with equal hardihood. The masacre of Jaffa is universally known. Twelve hundred prisoners, and probably more, who had surrendered themselves to Napoleon, and were apparently admitted to quarter, were two days afterwards marched out of the fort, divided into small bodies, and then deliberately shot; and, in case the musket was not effectual, were despatched by bayonets. This was an outrage, which cannot be sheltered by the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are. It was the deed of a bandit and savage, and ought to be execrated by good men, who value and would preserve the mitigations which Christianity has infused into the conduct of national hostilities.

The next great event in Bonaparte's history was the usurpation of the supreme power of the state, and the establishment of military despotism over France. On the particulars of this criminal act we have no desire to enlarge, nor are we anxious to ascertain, whether our hero, on this occasion, lost his courage and self-possession, as he is reported to have done. We are more anxious to express our convictions of the turpitude of this outrage on liberty and justice. For this crime, but one apology can be offered. Napoleon, it is said, seized the reins, when, had he let them slip, they would have fallen into other hands. He enslaved France at a moment, when, had he spared her, she would have found another tyrant. Admitting the truth of the plea, what is it but the reasoning of the highwayman, who robs and murders the traveller, because the booty was about to be seized by another hand, or because another dagger was ready to do the bloody deed? We are aware that the indignation, with which we regard this crime of Napoleon, will find a response in few breasts; for to the multitude a throne is a temptation which no virtue can be expected to withstand. But moral truth is immovable amidst the sophistry, ridicule, and abject reasonings of men, and the time will come, when it will find a meet voice to

give it utterance. Of all crimes against society, usurpation is the blackest. He who lifts a parricidal hand against his country's rights and freedom; who plants his foot on the necks of thirty millions of his fellow-creatures; who concentrates in his single hand the powers of a mighty empire, and who wields its powers, squanders its treasures, and pours forth its blood like water, to make other nations slaves and the world his prey; this man, as he unites all crimes in his sanguinary career, so he should be set apart by the human race for their unmingled and unmeasured abhorrence, and should bear on his guilty head a mark as opprobrious as that which the first murderer wore. We cannot think with patience of one man fastening chains on a whole people, and subjecting millions to his single will; of whole regions overshadowed by the tyranny of a frail being like ourselves. In anguish of spirit we exclaim, How long will an abject world kiss the foot which tramples it? How long shall crime find shelter in its very aggravations and excess?

Perhaps it may be said, that our indignation seems to light on Napoleon, not so much because he was a despot, as because he became a despot by usurpation; that we seem not to hate tyranny itself, so much as a particular mode of gaining it. We do indeed regard usurpation as a crime of peculiar blackness, especially when committed, as in the case of Napoleon, in the name of liberty. All despotism, however, whether usurped or hereditary, is our abhorrence. We regard it as the most grievous wrong and insult to the human race. But towards the hereditary despot we have more of compassion than indignation. Nursed and brought up in delusion, worshipped from his cradle, never spoken to in the tone of fearless truth, taught to look on the great mass of his fellow beings as an inferior race, and to regard despotism as a law of nature and a necessary element of social life; such a prince, whose education and condition almost deny him the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling and manly virtue, must not be judged severely. Still, in absolving the despot from much of the guilt which seems at first to attach to his unlawful and abused power, we do not the less account despotism a wrong and a curse. The time for its fall, we trust, is coming. It cannot fall too soon. It has long enough wrung from the labourer his hard earnings; long enough squandered a nation's wealth on its parasites and minions; long enough warred against the freedom of the mind, and arrested the progress of truth. It has filled dungeons enough with the brave and good, and shed enough of the blood of patriots. Let its end come. It cannot come too soon.

We have now followed Bonaparte to the moment of possessing himself of the supreme power. Those who were associated with him in subverting the government of the Directory, essayed to lay restraints on the First Consul, who was to take their place. But he indignantly repelled them. He held the sword,

and with this, not only intimidated the selfish, but awed and silenced the patriotic, who saw too plainly that it could only be wrested from him by renewing the horrors of the revolution.—We now proceed to consider some of the means, by which he consolidated his power, and raised it into the imperial dignity. We consider these as much more important illustrations of his character than his successive campaigns, to which accordingly we shall give little attention.

One of his first measures for giving stability to his power, was certainly a wise one, and was obviously dictated by his situation and character. Having seized the first dignity in the state by military force, and leaning on a devoted soldiery, he was under no necessity of binding himself to any of the parties which had distracted the country—a vassalage to which his domineering spirit could ill have stooped. Policy and his love of mastery pointed out to him an indiscriminate employment of the leading men of all parties: and not a few of these had become so selfish and desperate in the disastrous progress of the revolution, that they were ready to break up old connexions, and to divide the spoils of the republic with a master. Accordingly he adopted a system of comprehension and lenity, from which even the emigrants were not excluded, and had the satisfaction of seeing almost the whole talent which the revolution had quickened, leagued in the execution of his plans. Under the able men whom he called to his aid, the finances and the war department, which had fallen into a confusion that threatened ruin to the state, were soon restored to order, and means and forces provided for retrieving the recent defeats and disgraces of the French armies.

This leads us to mention another most important and effectual means by which Napoleon secured and enlarged his power. We refer to the brilliant campaign immediately following his elevation to the consulate, and which restored to France the ascendancy which she had lost during his absence. On his success at this juncture his future fortunes wholly depended. It was in this campaign that he proved himself the worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden, gave the impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition. This enterprise was in one view a fearful omen to Europe. It showed a power over the minds of his soldiers, the effects of which were not to be calculated. The conquest of St. Bernard by a French army was the boast of the nation; but a still more wonderful thing was, the capacity of the general to inspire into that army the intense force, confidence, resolution, and patience, by which alone the work could be accomplished. The victory of

Marengo, gained by one of the accidents of war in the moment of apparent defeat and ruin, secured to Bonaparte the dominion which he coveted. France, who in her madness and folly had placed her happiness in conquest, now felt that the glory of her arms was safe only in the hands of the First Consul; whilst the soldiery, who held the sceptre in their gift, became more thoroughly satisfied that triumph and spoils waited on his standard.

Another important and essential means of securing and building up his power, was the system of *espionage*, called the police, which, under the Directory, had received a development worthy of those friends of freedom, but which was destined to be perfected by the wisdom of Napoleon. It would seem as if despotism, profiting by the experience of ages, had put forth her whole skill and resources in forming the French police, and had forged a weapon, never to be surpassed, for stifling the faintest breathings of disaffection, and chaining every free thought. This system of *espionage* (we are proud that we have no English word for the infernal machine) had indeed been used under all tyrannies. But it wanted the craft of Fouché, and the energy of Bonaparte, to disclose all its powers. In the language of our author, "it spread through all the ramifications of society;" that is, every man, of the least importance in the community, had the eye of a spy upon him. He was watched at home as well as abroad, in the boudoir and theatre, in the brothel and gaming-house; and these last-named haunts furnished not a few ministers of the Argus-eyed police. There was an ear open through all France to catch the whispers of discontent; a power of evil, which aimed to rival, in omnipresence and invisibleness, the benignant agency of the Deity. Of all instruments of tyranny, this is the most detestable; for it chills the freedom and warmth of social intercourse; locks up the heart; infects and darkens men's minds with mutual jealousies and fears; and reduces to system a wary dissimulation, subversive of force and manliness of character. We find, however, some consolation in learning that tyrants are the prey of distrust, as well as the people over whom they set this cruel guard; that tyrants cannot confide in their own spies, but must keep watch over the machinery which we have described, lest it recoil upon themselves. Bonaparte, at the head of an army, is a dazzling spectacle; but Bonaparte, heading a horde of spies, compelled to doubt and fear these base instruments of his power, compelled to divide them into bands, and to receive daily reports from each, so that, by balancing them against each other, and sifting their testimony, he might gather the truth; Bonaparte, thus employed, is any thing but imposing. It requires no great elevation of thought to look down on such an occupation with scorn; and we see, in the anxiety and degradation which it involves, the beginning of that retribution which tyranny cannot escape.

Another means by which the First Consul protected his power can excite no wonder. That he should fetter the press, should banish or imprison refractory editors, should subject the journals and more important works of literature to jealous superintendence, these were things of course. Free writing and despotism are such implacable foes, that we hardly think of blaming a tyrant for keeping no terms with the press. He cannot do it. He might as reasonably choose a volcano for the foundation of his throne. Necessity is laid upon him, unless he is in love with ruin, to check the bold and honest expression of thought. But the necessity is his own choice; and let infamy be that man's portion who seizes a power which he cannot sustain, but by dooming the mind, through a vast empire, to slavery, and by turning the press, that great organ of truth, into an instrument of public delusion and debasement.

We pass to another means of removing obstructions to his power and ambition, still worse than the last. We refer to the terror which he spread by his severities, just before assuming the imperial power. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien was justified by Napoleon as a method of striking fear into the Bourbons, who, as he said, were plotting his death. This may have been one motive; for we have reason to think that he was about that time threatened with assassination. But we believe still more that he intended to awe into acquiescence the opposition, which, he knew, would be awakened in many breasts, by the prostration of the forms of the republic, and the open assumption of the imperial dignity. There were times when Bonaparte disclaimed the origination of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. But no other could have originated it. It bears internal marks of its author. The boldness, decision, and overpowering rapidity of the crime, point unerringly to the soul where it was conceived. We believe that one great recommendation of this murder was, that it would strike amazement and terror into France and Europe generally, and show that he was prepared to shed any blood, and to sweep before him every obstruction in his way to absolute power. Certain it is, that the open murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and the justly suspected assassinations of Pichegru and Wright, did create a dread, such as had not been felt before; and whilst on previous occasions some faint breathings of liberty were to be heard in the legislative bodies, only one voice, that of Carnot, was raised against investing Bonaparte with the imperial crown, and laying France, an unprotected victim, at his feet.

There remain for our consideration other means employed by Bonaparte for building up and establishing his power, of a different character from those we have named, and which on this account we cannot pass without notice. One of these was the concordat which he extorted from the pope, and which professed to re-establish the Catholic religion in France. Our

religious prejudices have no influence on our judgment of this measure. We make no objections to it, as the restoration of a worship which, on many accounts, we condemn. We view it now simply as an instrument of policy, and, in this light, it seems to us no proof of the sagacity of Bonaparte. It helps to confirm in us an impression which other parts of his history give us, that he did not understand the peculiar character of his age, and the peculiar and original policy which it demanded. He always used commonplace means of power, although the unprecedented times in which he lived required a system which should combine untried resources and touch new springs of action. Because old governments had found a convenient prop in religion, Napoleon imagined that it was a necessary appendage and support of his sway, and resolved to restore it. But at this moment there were no foundations in France for a religious establishment, which could give strength, and a character of sacredness, to the supreme power. There was comparatively no faith, no devout feeling, and, still more, no superstition to supply the place of these. The time for the reaction of the religious principle had not yet arrived; and a more likely means of retarding it could hardly have been devised, than the nursing care extended to the church by Bonaparte, the recent Mussulman, the known despiser of the ancient faith, who had no worship at heart but the worship of himself. Instead of bringing religion to the aid of the state, it was impossible that such a man should touch it without loosening the faint hold which it yet retained on the people. There were none so ignorant as to be the dupes of the First Consul in this particular. Every man, woman, and child, knew that he was playing the part of a juggler. Not one religious association could be formed with his character or government. It was a striking proof of the self-exaggerating vanity of Bonaparte, and of his ignorance of the higher principles of human nature, that he not only hoped to revive and turn to his account the old religion, but imagined that he could, if necessary, have created a new one. "Had the pope never existed before, he should have been made for the occasion," was the speech of this political charlatan; as if religious opinion and feeling were things to be manufactured by a consular decree. Ancient legislators, by adopting and sympathizing with popular and rooted superstitions, were able to press them into the service of their institutions. They were wise enough to build on a pre-existing faith, and studiously to conform to it. Bonaparte, in a country of infidelity and atheism, and whilst unable to refrain from sarcasms on the system which he patronized, was weak enough to believe that he might make it a substantial support of his government. He undoubtedly congratulated himself on the terms which he exacted from the pope, and which had never been conceded to the most powerful monarchs; forgetting that his apparent success was the defeat of his plans; for just as far

*Bellangé p.*

UNE AMBULANCE.

AN AMBULATORY HOSPITAL

# AN AMBULANCE.

The devotion shewn to the memory of Napoleon, by the spirited painter of the original picture from which this is copied, has been profitable to that talented artist. Few of his contemporaries have succeeded better than M. Bellangé, in depicting subjects which illustrate the "Grand Imperial Epoch."*

This picture is well conceived, free and natural. It is a scene which occurred repeatedly on the battle field in Napoleon's campaigns. "*Vive l'Empereur*," let the wound be slight or mortal; "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was the wounded soldier's cry, though scarcely able to see his Captain as he passed. "With such devotion as this, what had not the '*Grand Homme*' to hope for? These were not the soldiers to abandon him. Honour, rank, riches, were not able to corrupt them. And if they had not been so patriotic; if they had not been models of military discipline;—what would they not have undertaken for the person of their General, for him who had led them to victory and glory. Poor fellows! humble labourers in the vast plan of a great architect, you assisted in raising the great monument; your task should not have been without recompense.

"You, and your old parents, should have found your emperor; he had not forgotten *you*. Soldiers of Egypt! you know it, and are able to tell us, has he left you without the necessaries of life? All the old veterans would have had their reward. *Vive l'Empereur!* would have been repeated by thousands of recognising voices. The *Grand Homme* would not have been sent to die upon the desert rock of St. Helena, if he had always been surrounded by his brave soldiers."

* This celebrated artist has produced a variety of lithographic illustrations of Napoleon's extraordinary career, equally remarkable for the felicity of their conception and their spirited execution.

as he severed the church from the supreme pontiff, and placed himself conspicuously at its head, he destroyed the only connexion which could give it influence. Just so far its power over opinion and conscience ceased. It became a coarse instrument of state, contemned by the people, and serving only to demonstrate the aspiring views of its master. Accordingly the French bishops in general refused to hold their dignities under this new head, preferred exile to the sacrifice of the rights of the church, and left behind them a hearty abhorrence of the concordat among the more zealous members of their communion. Happy would it have been for Napoleon had he left the pope and the church to themselves. By occasionally recognising and employing, and then insulting and degrading the Roman pontiff, he exasperated a large part of Christendom, fastened on himself the brand of impiety, and awakened a religious hatred, which contributed its full measure to his fall.

As another means employed by Bonaparte for giving strength and honour to his government, we may name the grandeur of his public works, which he began in his consulate and continued after his accession to the imperial dignity. These dazzled France, and still impress travellers with admiration. Could we separate these from his history, and did no other indication of his character survive, we should undoubtedly honour him with the title of a beneficent sovereign; but connected as they are, they do little or nothing to change our conceptions of him as an all-grasping, unprincipled usurper. Paris was the chief object of these labours; and surely we cannot wonder, that he who aimed at universal dominion, should strive to improve and adorn the metropolis of his empire. It is the practice of despots to be lavish of expense on the royal residence and the seat of government. Travellers in France, as in other countries on the continent, are struck and pained by the contrast between the magnificent capital and the mud-walled village, and uninteresting province. Bonaparte had a special motive for decorating Paris, for "Paris is France," as has often been observed; and in conciliating the vanity of the great city, he secured the obedience of the whole country. The boasted internal improvements of Napoleon scarcely deserve to be named, if we compare their influence with the operation of his public measures. The conscription, which drew from agriculture its most effective labourers, and his continental system, which sealed up every port and annihilated the commerce of his empire, drained and exhausted France to a degree, for which his artificial stimulants of industry, and his splendid projects afforded no compensation. Perhaps the most admired of all his public works is the road over the Simplon, to which all travellers concur in giving the epithet, stupendous. But it ought not to amaze us, that he, who was aspiring at unlimited dominion, should establish communications between the different provinces of his empire. It

ought not to amaze us, that he, who had scaled the glaciers of St. Bernard, should covet some easier passage for pouring his troops into Italy; nor is it very wonderful, that a sovereign, who commanded the revenues of Europe, and who lived in an age when civil-engineering had been advanced to a perfection before unknown, should accomplish a bolder enterprise than his predecessors. We would add, that Napoleon must divide with Fabbroni the glory of the road over the Simplon; for the genius which contrived and constructed, is more properly its author, than the will which commanded it.

There is, however, one great work, which gives Bonaparte a fair claim on the gratitude of posterity, and entitles him to an honourable renown. We refer to the new code of laws, which was given to France under his auspices. His participation in this work has indeed been unwarrantably and ridiculously magnified. Because he attended the meetings of the commissioners to whom it was assigned, and made some useful and sagacious suggestions, he has been praised, as if he had struck out, by the miraculous force of his genius, a new code of laws. The truth is, that he employed for this work, as he should have done, the most eminent civilians of the empire; and it is also true, that these learned men have little claim to originality; for, as our author observes, the code "has few peculiarities making a difference betwixt its principles and those of the Roman law." In other words, they preferred wisdom to novelty. Still Bonaparte deserves great praise for his interest in the work, for the impulse he gave to those to whom it was committed, and for the time and thought which, amidst the cares of a vast empire, he bestowed upon it. That his ambition incited him to this labour, we doubt not. He meant to entwine the laurels of Justinian with those of Alexander. But we will not quarrel with ambition, when it is wise enough to devote itself to the happiness of mankind. In the present case he showed that he understood something of true glory; and we prize the instance more, because it stands almost alone in his history. We look on the conqueror, the usurper, the spoiler of kingdoms, the insatiable despot, with disgust, and see in all these characters an essential vulgarness of mind. But when we regard him as a Fountain of Justice to a vast empire, we recognise in him a resemblance to the just and benignant Deity, and cheerfully accord to him the praise of bestowing on a nation one of the greatest gifts, and of the most important means of improvement and happiness, which it is permitted to man to confer. It was, however, the misery of Bonaparte, a curse brought on him by his crimes, that he could touch nothing without leaving on it the polluting mark of despotism. His usurpation took from him the power of legislating with magnanimity, where his own interest was concerned. He could provide for the administration of justice between man and man, but not between the citizen and the ruler. Political

offences, the very class which ought to be submitted to a jury, were denied that mode of trial. Juries might decide on other criminal questions; but they were not to be permitted to interpose between the despot and the ill-fated subjects who might fall under his suspicion. These were arraigned before "special tribunals, invested with a half military character," the ready ministers of nefarious prosecutions, and only intended to cloak by legal forms the murderous purpose of the tyrant.

We have thus considered some of the means by which Bonaparte consolidated and extended his power. We now see him advanced to that imperial throne, on which he had long fixed his eager eye. We see France now awed and now dazzled by the influence we have described, and at last surrendering, by public, deliberate acts, without a struggle or a show of opposition, her rights, liberties, interests, and power to an absolute master and to his posterity for ever. Thus perished the name and forms of the republic. Thus perished the hopes of philanthropy. The air, which a few years ago resounded with the shouts of a great people casting away their chains, and claiming their birthright of freedom, now rung with the servile cries of long life to a blood-stained usurper. There were indeed generous spirits, true patriots, like our own La Fayette, still left in France. But few, and scattered, they were left to shed in secret the tears of sorrowful and indignant despair. By this base and disastrous issue of their revolution, the French nation not only renounced their own rights, but brought reproach on the cause of freedom, which years cannot wash away. This is to us a more painful recollection than all the desolations which France spread through Europe, and than her own bitter sufferings when the hour of retribution came upon her. The fields which she laid waste are again waving with harvest; and the groans which broke forth through her cities and villages, when her bravest sons perished by thousands and ten thousands on the snows of Russia, have died away, and her wasted population is renewed. But the wounds which she inflicted on freedom by the crimes perpetrated in that sacred name, and by the abject spirit with which that sacred cause was deserted, are still fresh and bleeding. France not only subjected herself to a tyrant, but what is worse, she has given tyranny every where new pleas and arguments, and imboldened it to preach openly, in the face of heaven, the impious doctrines of absolute power and unconditional submission.

Napoleon was now Emperor of France; and a man unacquainted with human nature, would think that such an empire, whose bounds now extended to the Rhine, might have satisfied even an ambitious man. But Bonaparte obeyed that law of progress, to which the highest minds are peculiarly subjected; and acquisition inflamed, instead of appeasing the spirit of dominion. He had long proposed to himself the conquest of

Europe, of the world; and the title of Emperor added intenseness to this purpose. Did we not fear that by repetition we might impair the conviction which we are most anxious to impress, we would enlarge on the enormity of the guilt involved in the project of universal empire. Napoleon knew distinctly the price which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. He knew that the path to it lay over wounded and slaughtered millions, over putrefying heaps of his fellow-creatures, over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans; of bereaved friendship and despairing love; and that in addition to this amount of misery, he would create an equal amount of crime, by multiplying indefinitely the instruments and participators of his rapine and fraud. He knew the price, and resolved to pay it. But we do not insist on a topic which few, very few as yet, understand or feel. Turning then for the present from the moral aspect of this enterprise, we will view it in another light, which is of great importance to a just estimate of his claims on admiration. We will inquire into the nature and fitness of the measures and policy which he adopted for compassing the subjugation of Europe and the world.

We are aware that this discussion may expose us to the charge of great presumption. It may be said that men, having no access to the secrets of the cabinets, and no participation in public affairs, are not the best judges of the policy of such a man as Napoleon. This we are not anxious to disprove, nor shall we quarrel with our readers for questioning the soundness of our opinions. But we will say, that though distant, we have not been indifferent obervers of the great events of our age, and that though conscious of exposure to many errors, we have a strong persuasion of the substantial correctness of our views. We express then, without reserve, our belief that the policy of Napoleon was wanting in sagacity, and that he proved himself incapable, as we before suggested, of understanding the character and answering the demands of his age. His system was a repetition of old means, when the state of the world was new. The sword and the police, which had sufficed him for enslaving France, were not the only powers required for his designs against the human race. Other resources were to be discovered or created; and the genius for calling them forth did not, we conceive, belong to Napoleon.

The circumstances under which Napoleon aspired to universal empire differed in many respects from those under which former conquerors were placed. It was easy for Rome, when she had subdued kingdoms, to reduce them to provinces and to govern them by force; for nations at that period were bound together by no tie. They had little communication with each other. Differences of origin, of religion, of manners, of language, of modes of

warfare; differences aggravated by long and ferocious wars, and by the general want of civilization,—prevented joint action, and almost all concern for one another's fate. Modern Europe, on the other hand, was an assemblage of civilized states, closely connected by commerce, by literature, by a common faith, by interchange of thoughts and improvements, and by a policy which had for ages proposed, as its chief object, the establishment of such a balance of power as would secure national independence. Under these influences the human mind had made great progress; and in truth the French revolution had resulted from an unprecedented excitement and development of men's faculties, and from the extension of power and intelligence through a vastly wider class than had participated in them at any former period. The very power which Napoleon was wielding, might be traced to an enthusiasm essentially generous, and manifesting a tendency of the civilized world to better institutions. It is plain that the old plans of conquests, and the maxims of comparatively barbarous ages, did not suit such a state of society. An ambitious man was to make his way by allying himself with the new movements and excitements of the world. The existence of a vast maritime power like England, which by its command of the ocean and its extensive commerce, was brought into contact with every community, and which at the same time enjoyed the enviable pre-eminence of possessing the freest institutions in Europe, was of itself a sufficient motive for a great modification of the policy, by which one state was now to be placed at the head of the nations. The peculiar character and influence of England, Bonaparte seemed indeed never able to comprehend; and the violent measures by which he essayed to tear asunder the old connexions of that country with the continent, only gave them strength, by adding to the ties of interest, those of sympathy, of common suffering, and common danger.

Force and corruption were the great engines of Napoleon, and he plied them without disguise or reserve, not caring how far he insulted, and armed against himself, the moral and national feelings of Europe. His great reliance was on the military spirit and energy of the French people. To make France a nation of soldiers was the first and main instrument of his policy; and here he was successful. The revolution indeed had in no small degree done this work to his hands. To complete it, he introduced a national system of education, having for its plain end to train the whole youth of France to a military life, to familiarize the mind to this destination from its earliest years, and to associate the idea of glory almost exclusively with arms. The conscription gave full efficacy to this system; for as every young man in the empire had reason to anticipate a summons to the army, the first object in education naturally was, to fit him for the field. The public honours bestowed on military talent, and a rigorous impartiality in awarding promotion to merit, so that no origin, however ob-

scure, was a bar to what were deemed the highest honours of Europe, kindled the ambition of the whole people into a flame, and directed it exclusively to the camp. It is true, the conscription, which thinned so terribly the ranks of her youth and spread anxiety and bereavement through all her dwellings, was severely felt in France. But Napoleon knew the race whom it was his business to manage; and by the glare of victory, and the title of the Grand Empire, he succeeded in reconciling them for a time to the most painful domestic privations, and to an unexampled waste of life. Thus he secured, what he accounted the most important instrument of dominion, a great military force. But, on the other hand, the stimulants which for this purpose he was forced to apply perpetually to French vanity, the ostentation with which the invincible power of France was trumpeted to the world, and the haughty, vaunting style which became the most striking characteristic of that intoxicated people, were perpetual irritations of the national spirit and pride of Europe, and implanted a deep hatred towards the new and insulting empire, which waited but for a favourable moment to repay with interest the debt of humiliation.

The condition of Europe forbade, as we believe, the establishment of universal monarchy by mere physical force. The sword, however important, was now to play but a secondary part. The true course for Napoleon seems to us to have been indicated, not only by the state of Europe, but by the means which France in the beginning of her revolution had found most effectual. He should have identified himself with some great interests, opinion, or institutions, by which he might have bound to himself a large party in every nation. He should have contrived to make at least a specious cause against all old establishments. To contrast himself most strikingly and most advantageously with former governments, should have been the key of his policy. He should have placed himself at the head of a new order of things, which should have worn the face of an improvement of the social state. Nor did the subversion of republican forms prevent his adoption of this course, or of some other which would have secured to him the sympathy of multitudes. He might still have drawn some broad lines between his own administration and that of other states, tending to throw the old dynasties into the shade. He might have cast away all the pageantry and forms of courts, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his establishments, and exaggerated the relief which he gave to his people, by saving them the burdens of a wasteful and luxurious court. He might have insisted on the great benefits that had accrued to France from the establishment of uniform laws, which protected alike all classes of men; and he might have virtually pledged himself to the subversion of the feudal inequalities which still disfigured Europe. He might have insisted on the favourable changes to be introduced into property, by abolishing the entails

E. Seure

Tauâet

STATUES DE LA COLONNE DE LA GRANDE ARMÉE

STATUES OF THE COLUMN OF THE GRAND ARMY

MODERN

ANCIENT

# STATUES OF THE COLUMN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

This engraving represents the statue which formerly crowned the summit of the splendid column in the Place Vendome, designed by M. Chaudet in imitation of the ancient classic statues of the Roman Emperors. This, however, has been displaced by a modern one, executed from the design of M. E. Seure, being a portrait of Napoleon in his accustomed dress as General of the French Army.

which fettered it, the rights of primogeniture, and the exclusive privileges of a haughty aristocracy. He might have found abuses enough against which to array himself as a champion. By becoming the head of new institutions, which would have involved the transfer of power into new hands, and would have offered to the people a real improvement, he might every where have summoned to his standard the bold and enterprising, and might have disarmed the national prejudices to which he fell a prey. Revolution was still the true instrument of power. In a word, Napoleon lived at a period, when he could only establish a durable and universal control through principles and institutions of some kind or other, to which he would seem to be devoted.

It was impossible, however, for such a man as Napoleon to adopt, perhaps to conceive, a system such as has now been traced; for it was wholly at war with that egotistical, self-relying, self-exaggerating principle, which was the most striking feature of his mind. He imagined himself able, not only to conquer nations, but to hold them together by the awe and admiration which his own character would inspire; and this bond he preferred to every other. An indirect sway, a control of nations by means of institutions, principles, or prejudices, of which he was to be only the apostle and defender, was utterly inconsistent with that vehemence of will, that passion for astonishing mankind, and that persuasion of his own invincibleness, which were his master feelings, and which made force his darling instrument of dominion. He chose to be the great, palpable, and sole bond of his empire; to have his image reflected from every establishment; to be the centre in which every ray of glory should meet, and from which every impulse should be propagated. In consequence of this egotism, he never dreamed of adapting himself to the moral condition of the world. The sword was his chosen weapon, and he used it without disguise. He insulted nations as well as sovereigns. He did not attempt to gild their chains, or to fit the yoke gently to their necks. The excess of his extortions, the audacity of his claims, and the insolent language in which Europe was spoken of as the vassal of the great empire, discovered that he expected to reign, not only without linking himself with the interests, prejudices, and national feelings of men, but by setting all at defiance.

It would be easy to point out a multitude of instances in which he sacrificed the only policy by which he could prevail, to the persuasion that his own greatness could more than balance whatever opposition his violence might awaken. In an age in which Christianity was exerting some power, there was certainly a degree of deference due to the moral convictions of society. But Napoleon thought himself more than a match for the moral instincts and sentiments of our nature. He thought himself able to cover the most atrocious deeds by the splendour

of his name, and even to extort applause for crimes by the brilliancy of his success. He took no pains to conciliate esteem. In his own eyes he was mightier than conscience; and thus he turned against himself the power and resentment of virtue in every breast where that divine principle yet found a home.

Through the same blinding egotism he was anxious to fill the thrones of Europe with men bearing his own name, and to multiply every where images of himself. Instead of placing over conquered countries efficient men, taken from themselves, who, by upholding better institutions, would carry with them large masses of the people, and who would still, by their hostility to the old dynasties, link their fortunes with his own, he placed over nations such men as Jerome and Murat. He thus spread a jealousy of his power, whilst he rendered it insecure; for as none of the princes of his creation, however well disposed, were allowed to identify themselves with their subjects, and to take root in the public heart, but were compelled to act openly and without disguise, as satellites and prefects of the French emperor, they gained no hold on their subjects, and could bring no strength to their master in his hour of peril. In none of his arrangements did Napoleon think of securing to his cause the attachment of nations. Astonishment, awe, and force, were his weapons, and his own great name the chosen pillar of his throne.

So far was Bonaparte from magnifying the contrast and distinctions between himself and the old dynasties of Europe, and from attaching men to himself by new principles and institutions, that he had the great weakness, for so we view it, to revive the old forms of monarchy, and to ape the manners of the old court, and thus to connect himself with the herd of legitimate sovereigns. This was not only to rob his government of that imposing character which might have been given to it, and of that interest which it might have inspired, as an improvement on former institutions, but was to become competitor in a race in which he could not but be distanced. He could indeed pluck crowns from the heads of monarchs; but he could not by any means infuse their blood into his veins, associate with himself the ideas which are attached to a long line of ancestry, or give to his court the grace of manners which belongs to older establishments. His true policy was, to throw contempt on distinctions which he could not rival; and had he possessed the genius and spirit of the founder of a new era, he would have substituted for a crown, and for other long worn badges of power, a new and simple style of grandeur, and new insignia of dignity, more consonant with an enlightened age, and worthy of one who disdained to be a vulgar king. By the policy which he adopted, if it be worthy of that name, he became a vulgar king, and showed a mind incapable of answering the wants and demands of his age. It is well known that the progress of intelligence had done

much in Europe to weaken men's reverence for pageantry and show. Nobles had learned to lay aside their trappings in ordinary life, and to appear as gentlemen. Even royalty had begun to retrench its pomp; and, in the face of all this improvement, Bonaparte stooped from his height to study costumes, to legislate about court-dresses and court-manners, and to outshine his brother monarchs in their own line. He desired to add the glory of master of ceremonies to that of conqueror of nations. In his anxiety to belong to the caste of kings, he exacted scrupulously the observance and etiquette with which they are approached. Not satisfied with this approximation to the old sovereigns, with whom he had no common interest, and from whom he could not have removed himself too far, he sought to ally himself by marriage with the royal families in Europe, to ingraft himself and his posterity on an old imperial tree. This was the very way to turn back opinion into its old channels; to carry back Europe to its old prejudices; to facilitate the restoration of its old order; to preach up legitimacy; to crush every hope that he was to work a beneficent change among nations. It may seem strange that his egotism did not preserve him from the imitation of antiquated monarchy. But his egotism, though excessive, was not lofty, nor was it seconded by a genius, rich and inventive, except in war.

We have now followed Napoleon to the height of his power, and given our views of the policy by which he hoped to make that power perpetual and unbounded. His fall is easily explained. It had its origin in that spirit of self-reliance and self-exaggeration of which we have seen so many proofs. It began in Spain. That country was a province in reality. He wanted to make it one in name; to place over it a Bonaparte; to make it a more striking manifestation of his power. For this purpose he "kidnapped" its royal family, stirred up the unconquerable spirit of its people, and after shedding on its plains and mountains the best blood of France, lost it for ever. Next came his expedition against Russia, an expedition against which his wisest counsellors remonstrated, but which had every recommendation to a man who regarded himself as an exception to his race, and able to triumph over the laws of nature. So insane were his self-confidence and impatience of opposition, that he drove, by his outrages, Sweden, the old ally of France, into the arms of Russia, at the very moment that he was about to throw himself into the heart of that mighty empire. On his Russian campaign we have no desire to enlarge. Of all the mournful pages of history, none are more sad than that which records the retreat of the French army from Moscow. We remember that when the intelligence of Napoleon's discomfiture in Russia first reached this country, we were among those who exulted in it, thinking only of the results. But when subsequent and minuter accounts brought distinctly before our eyes that unequalled

army of France, broken, famished, slaughtered, seeking shelter under snowdrifts, and perishing by intense cold, we looked back on our joy with almost a consciousness of guilt, and expiated by a sincere grief our insensibility to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. We understand that many interesting notices of Napoleon, as he appeared in this disastrous campaign, are given in the Memoirs of Count Segur—a book from which we have been repelled by the sorrows and miseries which it details. We can conceive few subjects more worthy of Shakspeare than the mind of Napoleon, at this moment, when his fate was sealed; when the tide of his victories was suddenly stopped and rolled backwards; when his dreams of invincibleness were broken as by a peal of thunder; when the word which had awed nations died away, on the bleak waste, a powerless sound; and when he, whose spirit Europe could not bound, fled in fear from a captive's doom. The shock must have been tremendous to a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled to humiliation. The intense agony of that moment when he gave the unusual orders to retreat; the desolateness of his soul, when he saw his brave soldiers and his chosen guards sinking in the snows, and perishing in crowds around him; his unwillingness to receive the details of his losses, lest self-possession should fail him; the levity and badinage of his interview with the Abbé de Pradt, at Warsaw, discovering a mind labouring to throw off an insupportable weight, wrestling with itself, struggling against misery; and, though last not least, his unconquerable purpose still clinging to lost empire as the only good of life; these workings of such a spirit would have furnished to the great dramatist a theme worthy of his transcendent powers.

By the irretrievable disasters of the Russian campaign, the empire of the world was effectually placed beyond the grasp of Napoleon. The tide of conquest had ebbed, never to return. The spell which had bound the nations was dissolved. He was no longer the Invincible. The weight of military power, which had kept down the spirit of nations, was removed, and their long-smothered sense of wrong and insult broke forth like the fires of a volcano. Bonaparte might still perhaps have secured the throne of France; but that of Europe was gone. This, however, he did not, could not, would not understand. He had connected with himself too obstinately the character of the world's master, to be able to relinquish it. Amidst the dark omens which gathered round him, he still saw in his past wonderful escapes, and in his own exaggerated energies, the means of rebuilding his fallen power. Accordingly the thought of abandoning his pretensions does not seem to have crossed his mind, and his irreparable defeat was only a summons to new exertion. We doubt, indeed, whether Napoleon, if he could have understood fully his condition, would have adopted a different course. Though despairing, he would probably have raised new armies,

and fought to the last. To a mind which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, the thought of descending to the level even of kings is intolerable. Napoleon's mind had been stretched by such ideas of universal empire, that France, though reaching from the Rhine to the Alps, seemed narrow to him. He could not be shut up in it. Accordingly, as his fortunes darkened, we see no signs of relenting. He could not wear, he said, "a tarnished crown," that is, a crown no brighter than those of Austria and Russia. He continued to use a master's tone. He showed no change but such as opposition works in the obstinate. He lost his temper, and grew sour. He heaped reproaches on his marshals and the legislative body. He insulted Metternich, the statesman, on whom, above all others, his fate depended. He irritated Murat by sarcasms, which rankled within him, and accelerated, if they did not determine, his desertion of his master. It is a striking example of retribution, that the very vehemence and sternness of his will, which had borne him onward to dominion, now drove him to the rejection of terms which would have left him a formidable power, and thus made his ruin entire. Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting with a stubbornness which reminds us of a spoiled child, who sullenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance until his little fingers are, one by one, unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. Thus fell Napoleon. We shall follow his history no further. His retreat to Elba, his irruption into France, his signal overthrow, and his banishment to St. Helena, though they add to the romance of his history, throw no new light on his character, and would, of course, contribute nothing to our present object. There are, indeed, incidents in this portion of his life which are somewhat inconsistent with the firmness and conscious superiority which belonged to him. But a man, into whose character so much impulse, and so little principle entered, must not be expected to preserve unblemished, in such hard reverses, the dignity and self-respect of an emperor and a hero.

In the course of these remarks, our views of the conqueror, of the First Consul, and of the Emperor, have been given plainly and freely. The subject, however, is so important and interesting, that we have thought it worth our while, though at the hazard of some repetition, to bring together in a narrower compass what seem to us the great leading features of the intellectual and moral character of Napoleon Bonaparte.

His intellect was distinguished by rapidity of thought. He understood by a glance what most men, and superior men, could learn only by study. He darted to a conclusion rather by intuition than reasoning. In war, which was the only subject of which he was master, he seized in an instant on the great points of his own and his enemy's positions; and combined at once the

movements by which an overpowering force might be thrown with unexpected fury on a vulnerable part of the hostile line, and the fate of an army be decided in a day. He understood war as a science; but his mind was too bold, rapid, and irrepressible, to be enslaved by the technics of his profession. He found the old armies fighting by rule, and he discovered the true characteristic of genius, which, without despising rules, knows when and how to break them. He understood thoroughly the immense moral power which is gained by originality and rapidity of operation. He astonished and paralyzed his enemies by his unforeseen and impetuous assaults, by the suddenness with which the storm of battle burst upon them; and whilst giving to his soldiers the advantages of modern discipline, breathed into them by his quick and decisive movements, the enthusiasm of ruder ages. The power of disheartening the foe, and of spreading through his own ranks a confidence, and exhilarating courage, which made war a pastime, and seemed to make victory sure, distinguished Napoleon in an age of uncommon military talent, and was one main instrument of his future power.

The wonderful effects of that rapidity of thought by which Bonaparte was marked, the signal success of his new mode of warfare, and the almost incredible speed with which his fame was spread through nations, had no small agency in fixing his character, and determining for a period the fate of empires. These stirring influences infused a new consciousness of his own might. They gave intensity and audacity to his ambition; gave form and substance to his indefinite visions of glory, and raised his fiery hopes to empire. The burst of admiration, which his early career called forth, must in particular have had an influence in imparting to his ambition that modification by which it was characterized, and which contributed alike to its success and to its fall. He began with *astonishing* the world, with producing a sudden and universal *sensation*, such as modern times had not witnessed. To *astonish* as well as to sway by his energies, became the great aim of his life. Henceforth to rule was not enough for Bonaparte. He wanted to amaze, to dazzle, to overpower men's souls, by striking, bold, magnificent, and unanticipated results. To govern ever so absolutely would not have satisfied him, if he must have governed silently. He wanted to reign through wonder and awe, by the grandeur and terror of his name, by displays of power which would rivet on him every eye, and make him the theme of every tongue. Power was his supreme object; but a power which should be gazed at as well as felt, which should strike men as a prodigy, which should shake old thrones as an earthquake, and, by the suddenness of its new creations, should awaken something of the submissive wonder which miraculous agency inspires.

Such seems to us to have been the distinction or charac-

teristic modification of his love of fame. It was a diseased passion for a kind of admiration, which, from the principles of our nature, cannot be enduring, and which demands for its support perpetual and more stimulating novelty. Mere esteem he would have scorned. Calm admiration, though universal and enduring, would have been insipid. He wanted to electrify and overwhelm. He lived for effect. The world was his theatre, and he cared little what part he played, if he might walk the sole hero on the stage, and call forth bursts of applause which would silence all other fame. In war, the triumphs which he coveted were those in which he seemed to sweep away his foes like a whirlwind; and the immense and unparalleled sacrifice of his own soldiers, in the rapid marches and daring assaults to which he owed his victories, in no degree diminished their worth to the victor. In peace he delighted to hurry through his dominions; to multiply himself by his rapid movements; to gather at a glance the capacities of improvement which every important place possessed; to suggest plans which would startle by their originality and vastness; to project in an instant works which a life could not accomplish, and to leave behind the impression of a superhuman energy.

Our sketch of Bonaparte would be imperfect indeed, if we did not add that he was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of *self-exaggeration*. The singular energy of his intellect and will, through which he had mastered so many rivals and foes, and overcome what seemed insuperable obstacles, inspired a consciousness of being something more than man. His strong original tendencies to pride and self-exaltation, fed and pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled into an almost insane conviction of superhuman greatness. In his own view, he stood apart from other men. He was not to be measured by the standard of humanity. He was not to be retarded by difficulties to which all others yielded. He was not to be subjected to laws and obligations which all others were expected to obey. Nature and the human will were to bend to his power. He was the child and favourite of fortune; and if not the lord, the chief object of destiny. His history shows a spirit of self-exaggeration, unrivalled in enlightened ages, and which reminds us of an oriental king to whom incense had been burnt from his birth as to a deity. This was the chief source of his crimes. He wanted the sentiment of a common nature with his fellow beings. He had no sympathies with his race. That feeling of brotherhood, which is developed in truly great souls with peculiar energy, and through which they give up themselves willing victims, joyful sacrifices, to the interests of mankind, was wholly unknown to him. His heart, amidst all its wild beatings, never had one throb of disinterested love. The ties which bind man to man he broke asunder. The proper happiness of a man, which consists in the victory of

moral energy and social affection over the selfish passions, he cast away for the lonely joy of a despot. With powers which might have made him a glorious representative and minister of the beneficent Divinity, and with natural sensibilities which might have been exalted into sublime virtues, he chose to separate himself from his kind, to forego their love, esteem, and gratitude, that he might become their gaze, their fear, their wonder; and for this selfish, solitary good, parted with peace and imperishable renown.

This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged, broke out in the beginning of his career. His first success in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour. One can hardly help being struck with the *natural* manner with which he arrogates supremacy in his conversation and proclamations. We never feel as if he were putting on a lordly air, or borrowing an imperious tone. In his proudest claims, he speaks from his own mind, and in native language. His style is swollen, but never strained, as if he were conscious of playing a part above his real claims. Even when he was foolish and impious enough to arrogate miraculous powers and a mission from God, his language showed that he thought that there was something in his character and exploits to give a colour to his blasphemous pretensions. The empire of the world seemed to him to be in a measure his due, for nothing short of it corresponded with his conceptions of himself; and he did not use mere verbiage, but spoke a language to which he gave some credit, when he called his successive conquests "the fulfilment of his destiny."

This spirit of self-exaggeration wrought its own misery, and drew down upon him terrible punishments; and this it did by vitiating and perverting his high powers. First, it diseased his fine intellect, gave imagination the ascendancy over judgment, turned the inventiveness and fruitfulness of his mind into rash, impatient, restless energies, and thus precipitated him into projects, which, as the wisdom of his counsellors pronounced, were fraught with ruin. To a man whose vanity took him out of the rank of human beings, no foundation for reasoning was left. All things seemed possible. His genius and his fortune were not to be bounded by the barriers which experience had assigned to human powers. Ordinary rules did not apply to him. His imagination, disordered by his egotism, and by unbounded flattery, leaped over appalling obstacles to the prize which inflamed his ambition. He even found excitement and motives in obstacles, before which other men would have wavered; for these would enhance the glory of triumph, and give a new thrill to the admiration of the world. Accordingly he again and again plunged into the depths of an enemy's country, and staked his whole fortune and power on a single battle. To be rash was indeed the necessary result of his self-exalting and self-relying

spirit; for to dare what no other man would dare, to accomplish what no other man would attempt, was the very way to display himself as a superior being in his own and others' eyes.—To be impatient and restless was another necessary issue of the attributes we have described. The calmness of wisdom was denied him. He, who was next to omnipotent in his own eyes, and who delighted to strike and astonish by sudden and conspicuous operations, could not brook delay, or wait for the slow operations of time. A work, which was to be gradually matured by the joint agency of various causes, could not suit a man who wanted to be felt as the great, perhaps only cause; who wished to stamp his own agency in the most glaring characters on whatever he performed; and who hoped to rival by a sudden energy the steady and progressive works of nature. Hence so many of his projects were never completed, or only announced. They swelled however the tide of flattery, which ascribed to him the completion of what was not yet begun, whilst his restless spirit, rushing to new enterprises, forgot its pledges, and left the promised prodigies of his creative genius to exist only in the records of adulation. Thus the rapid and inventive intellect of Bonaparte was depraved, and failed to achieve a growing and durable greatness, through his self-exaggerating spirit. It reared indeed a vast and imposing structure, but disproportioned, disjointed, without strength, without foundations. One strong blast was enough to shake and shatter it, nor could his genius uphold it. Happy would it have been for his fame had he been buried in its ruins.

One of the striking properties of Bonaparte's character was decision; and this, as we have already seen, was perverted, by the spirit of self-exaggeration, into an inflexible stubbornness, which counsel could not enlighten, nor circumstances bend. Having taken the first step, he pressed onward. His purpose he wished others to regard as a law of nature, or a decree of destiny. It *must* be accomplished. Resistance but strengthened it; and so often had resistance been overborne, that he felt as if his unconquerable will, joined to his matchless intellect, could vanquish all things. On such a mind the warnings of human wisdom and of Providence were spent in vain; and the man of destiny lived to teach others, if not himself, the weakness and folly of that all-defying decision, which arrays the purposes of a mortal with the immutableness of the counsels of the Most High.

A still more fatal influence of the spirit of self-exaggeration which characterized Bonaparte, remains to be named. It depraved to an extraordinary degree his moral sense. It did not obliterate altogether the ideas of duty, but, by a singular perversion, it impelled him to apply them exclusively to others. It never seemed to enter his thought, that he was subject to the great obligations of morality, which all others are called to respect. He was an exempted being. Whatever stood in his

way to empire, he was privileged to remove. Treaties only bound his enemies. No nation had rights but his own France. He claimed a monopoly in perfidy and violence. He was not naturally cruel; but when human life obstructed his progress, it was a lawful prey, and murder and assassination occasioned as little compunction as war. The most luminous exposition of his moral code was given in his counsels to the king of Holland: "Never forget, that in the situation to which my political system and the interests of my empire have called you, your first duty is towards ME, your second towards France. All your other duties, even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these." To his own mind he was the source and centre of duty. He was too peculiar and exalted to be touched by that vulgar stain called guilt. Crimes ceased to be such when perpetrated by himself. Accordingly he always speaks of his transgressions as of indifferent acts. He never imagined that they tarnished his glory, or diminished his claim on the homage of the world. In St. Helena, though talking perpetually of himself, and often reviewing his guilty career, we are not aware that a single word of compunction escapes him. He speaks of his life as calmly as if it had been consecrated to duty and beneficence, whilst in the same breath he has the audacity to reproach unsparingly the faithlessness of almost every individual and nation with whom he had been connected. We doubt whether history furnishes so striking an example of the moral blindness and obduracy to which an unbounded egotism exposes and abandons the mind.

His spirit of self-exaggeration was seen in his openness to adulation. Policy indeed prompted him to put his praises into the mouths of the venal slaves who administered his despotism. But flattery would not have been permitted to swell into exaggerations, now nauseous, now ludicrous, and now impious, if, in the bosom of the chief, there had not lodged a flatterer who sounded a louder note of praise than all around him. He was remarkably sensitive to opinion, and resented as a wrong the suppression of his praises. The press of all countries was watched, and free states were called upon to curb it for daring to take liberties with his name. Even in books published in France on general topics, he expected a recognition of his authority. Works of talent were suppressed, when their authors refused to offer incense at the new shrine. He wished indeed to stamp his name on the literature, as on the legislation, policy, warfare of his age, and to compel genius, whose pages survive statues, columns, and empires, to take a place among his tributaries.

We close our view of Bonaparte's character, by saying, that his original propensities, released from restraint, and pampered by indulgence, to a degree seldom allowed to mortals, grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever usurped

the human heart. The love of power and supremacy absorbed, consumed him. No other passion, no domestic attachment, no private friendship, no love of pleasure, no relish for letters or the arts, no human sympathy, no human weakness, divided his mind with the passion for dominion and for dazzling manifestations of his power. Before this, duty, honour, love, humanity fell prostrate. Josephine, we are told, was dear to him; but the devoted wife, who had stood firm and faithful in the day of his doubtful fortunes, was cast off in his prosperity, to make room for a stranger, who might be more subservient to his power. He was affectionate, we are told, to his brothers and mother; but his brothers, the moment they ceased to be his tools, were disgraced; and his mother, it is said, was not allowed to sit in the presence of her imperial son.* He was sometimes softened, we are informed, by the sight of the field of battle strown with the wounded and dead. But if the Moloch of his ambition claimed new heaps of slain to-morrow, it was never denied. With all his sensibility, he gave millions to the sword, with as little compunction as he would have brushed away so many insects, which had infested his march. To him, all human will, desire, power, were to bend. His superiority, none might question. He insulted the fallen, who had contracted the guilt of opposing his progress; and not even woman's loveliness, and the dignity of a queen, could give shelter from his contumely. His allies were his vassals, nor was their vassalage concealed. Too lofty to use the arts of conciliation, preferring command to persuasion, overbearing, and all-grasping, he spread distrust exasperation, fear, and revenge through Europe; and when the day of retribution came, the old antipathies and mutual jealousies of nations were swallowed up in one burning purpose to prostrate the common tyrant, the universal foe.

Such was Napoleon Bonaparte. But some will say, he was still a great man. This we mean not to deny. But we would have it understood, that there are various kinds or orders of greatness, and that the highest did not belong to Bonaparte. There are different orders of greatness. Among these, the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity; to that sublime energy by which the soul, subdued by the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom, virtue, and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever "ready to be offered up" on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this

* See "America," p. 57. We should not give this very unamiable trait of Napoleon's domestic character, but on authority which we cannot question.

moral greatness, which throws all other forms of greatness into obscurity, we see not a trace or spark in Napoleon. Though clothed with the power of a God, the thought of consecrating himself to the introduction of a new and higher era, to the exaltation of the character and condition of his race, seems never to have dawned on his mind. The spirit of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice appears not to have waged a moment's war with self-will and ambition. His ruling passions, indeed, were singularly at variance with magnanimity. Moral greatness has too much simplicity, is too unostentatious, too self-subsistent, and enters into others' interests with too much heartiness, to live a day for what Napoleon always lived, to make itself a theme, and gaze, and wonder of a dazzled world. Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this we mean that sublime capacity of thought, through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and all-comprehending laws of nature, binds together, by innumerable affinities and relations, all the objects of its knowledge, and, not satisfied with what exists and with what is finite, frames to itself ideal excellence, loveliness, and grandeur. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, inspired poets, and to the master spirits in the fine arts. Next comes the greatness of *action;* and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving and executing bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object, a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects. To this head belongs the greatness of Bonaparte, and that he possessed it, we need not prove, and none will be hardy enough to deny. A man, who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, who changed the face of the world, who made himself felt through powerful and civilized nations, who sent the terror of his name across seas and oceans, whose will was pronounced and feared as destiny, whose donatives were crowns, whose antechamber was thronged by submissive princes, who broke down the awful barrier of the Alps and made them a highway, and whose fame was spread beyond the boundaries of civilization to the steppes of the Cossack, and the deserts of the Arab;—a man, who has left this record of himself in history, has taken out of our hands the question, whether he shall be called great. All must concede to him a sublime power of action, an energy equal to great effects.

We are not disposed, however, to consider him as pre-eminent even in this order of greatness. War was his chief sphere. He gained his ascendancy in Europe by the sword. But war is not the field for the highest active talent, and Napoleon, we suspect, was conscious of this truth. The glory of being the greatest

*Debret p*

NAPOLÉON RENDANT DES HONNEURS A DES BLESSÉS ENNEMIS.

NAPOLEON PAYING HIS RESPECTS TO SOME WOUNDED FOES.

## NAPOLEON MEETING A PARTY OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS.

"*Honneur au courage malheureux!*" said Napoleon, in passing a party of wounded enemies. Debret has made a rather agreeable picture from a disagreeable subject; though it is certainly gratifying to find the leader of an army rendering due respect to those who, in their courageous efforts to overcome an opposing force, have unfortunately received wounds and injuries which, perhaps, disable them for life. The admirers of Napoleon maintain that the above incident did actually occur, while others assert that he was by nature cruel and unmerciful. We take upon ourselves to support neither the one nor the other; amid the mass of conflicting evidence, we cannot see how it is possible to arrive at a probable conclusion. That Napoleon was a great man, none can deny;—that he was a good man, few will be hardy enough to maintain.

general of his age would not have satisfied him. He would have scorned to take his place by the side of Marlborough or Turenne. It was as the founder of an empire, which threatened for a time to comprehend the world, and which demanded other talents besides that of war, that he challenged unrivalled fame. And here we question his claim. Here we cannot award him supremacy. The project of universal empire, however imposing, was not original. The revolutionary governments of France had adopted it before; nor can we consider it as a sure indication of greatness, when we remember that the weak and vain mind of Louis XIV. was large enough to cherish it. The question is, did Napoleon bring to this design the capacity of advancing it by bold and original conceptions, adapted to an age of civilization, and of singular intellectual and moral excitement? Did he discover new foundations of power? Did he frame new bonds of union for subjugated nations? Did he discover, or originate, some common interests by which his empire might be held together? Did he breathe a spirit which should supplant the old national attachments, or did he invent any substitutes for those vulgar instruments of force and corruption, which any and every usurper would have used? Never, in the records of time, did the world furnish such materials to work with, such means of modelling nations afresh, of building up a new power, of introducing a new era, as did Europe at the period of the French revolution. Never was the human mind so capable of new impulses. And did Napoleon prove himself equal to the condition of the world? Do we detect one original conception in his means of universal empire? Did he seize on the enthusiasm of his age, that powerful principle, more efficient than arms or policy, and bend it to his purpose? What did he do but follow the beaten track? but apply force and fraud in their very coarsest forms? Napoleon showed a vulgar mind when he assumed self-interest as the sole spring of human action. With the sword in one hand and bribes in the other, he imagined himself absolute master of the human mind. The strength of moral, national, and domestic feeling, he could not comprehend. The finest, and, after all, the most powerful elements in human nature, hardly entered into his conceptions of it; and how then could he have established a durable power over the human race? We want little more to show his want of originality and comprehensiveness as the founder of an empire, than the simple fact, that he chose as his chief counsellors Talleyrand and Fouché, names which speak for themselves. We may judge of the greatness of the master-spirit from the minds which he found most congenial with his own. In war, Bonaparte was great; for he was bold, original, and creative. Beyond the camp he indeed showed talent, but not superior to that of other eminent men.

There have been two circumstances which have done much to

disarm or weaken the strong moral reprobation with which Bonaparte ought to have been regarded, and which we deem worthy of notice. We refer to the wrongs which he is supposed to have suffered at St. Helena, and to the unworthy use which the allied powers have made of their triumph over Napoleon. First, his supposed wrongs at St. Helena have excited a sympathy in his behalf, which has thrown a veil over his crimes. We are not disposed to deny that an unwarrantable, because unnecessary severity, was exercised towards Bonaparte. We deem it not very creditable to the British government that it tortured a sensitive captive by refusing him a title which he had long worn. We think that not only religion and humanity, but self-respect forbids us to inflict a single useless pang on a fallen foe. But we should be weak, indeed, if the moral judgments and feelings with which Napoleon's career ought to be reviewed, should give place to sympathy with the sufferings by which it was closed. With regard to the scruples, which not a few have expressed as to the right of banishing him to St. Helena, we can only say that our consciences are not yet refined to such exquisite delicacy as to be at all sensitive on this particular. We admire nothing more in Bonaparte than the effrontery with which he claimed protection from the laws of nations. That a man who had set these laws at open defiance should fly to them for shelter; that the oppressor of the world should claim its sympathy as an oppressed man, and that his claim should find advocates; these things are to be set down among the extraordinary events of this extraordinary age. Truly the human race is in a pitiable state. It may be trampled on, spoiled, loaded like a beast of burden, made the prey of rapacity, insolence, and the sword; but it must not touch a hair, or disturb the pillow of one of its oppressors, unless it can find chapter and verse in the code of national law, to authorize its rudeness towards the privileged offender. For ourselves, we should rejoice to see every tyrant, whether a usurper or hereditary prince, fastened to a lonely rock in the ocean. Whoever gives clear, undoubted proof, that he is prepared and sternly resolved to make the earth a slaughterhouse, and to crush every will adverse to his own, ought to be caged like a wild beast; and to require mankind to proceed against him according to written laws and precedents, as if he were a private citizen in a quiet court of justice, is just as rational as to require a man, in imminent peril from an assassin, to wait and prosecute his murderer according to the most protracted forms of law. There are great solemn rights of nature which precede laws, and on which law is founded. There are great exigences in human affairs which speak for themselves, and need no precedent to teach the right path. There are awful periods in the history of our race, which do not belong to its ordinary state, and which are not to be governed and judged by ordinary rules. Such a period was that

when Bonaparte, by infraction of solemn engagements, had thrown himself into France, and convulsed all Europe; and they who confound this with the ordinary events of history, and see in Bonaparte but an ordinary foe to the peace and independence of nations, have certainly very different intellects from our own.

We confess, too, that we are not only unable to see the wrong done to Napoleon in sending him to St. Helena, but that we cannot muster up much sympathy for the inconveniences and privations which he endured there. Our sympathies in this particular are wayward and untractable. When we would carry them to that solitary island, and fasten them on the illustrious victim of British cruelty, they will not tarry there, but take their flight across the Mediterranean to Jaffa, and across the Atlantic to the platform where the Duke d'Enghien was shot, to the prison of Toussaint, and to the fields of battle where thousands at his bidding lay weltering in blood. When we strive to fix our thoughts upon the sufferings of the injured hero, other and more terrible sufferings, of which he was the cause, rush upon us; and his complaints, however loud and angry, are drowned by groans and execrations which fill our ears from every region which he traversed. We have no tears to spare for fallen greatness, when that greatness was founded in crime, and reared by force and perfidy. We reserve them for those on whose ruin it rose. We keep our sympathies for our race, for human nature in its humbler forms, for the impoverished peasant, the widowed mother, the violated virgin; and are even perverse enough to rejoice that the ocean has a prison-house, where the author of those miseries may be safely lodged. Bonaparte's history is to us too solemn, the wrongs for which humanity and freedom arraign him, are too flagrant to allow us to play the part of sentimentalists around his grave at St. Helena. We leave this to the more refined age in which we live; and we do so in the hope that an age is coming of less tender mould, but of loftier, sterner feeling, and of deeper sympathy with the whole human race. Should our humble page then live, we trust with an undoubting faith, that the uncompromising indignation with which we plead the cause of our oppressed and insulted nature, will not be set down to the account of our vindictiveness and hardness of heart.

We observed that the moral indignation of many towards Bonaparte had been impaired or turned away, not only by his supposed wrongs, but by the unworthy use which his conquerors made of their triumph. We are told, that bad as was his despotism, the holy alliance is a worse one; and that Napoleon was less a scourge than the present coalition of the continental monarchs, framed for the systematic suppression of freedom. By such reasoning his crimes are cloaked, and his fall made the theme of lamentation. It is not one of the smallest errors and

sins of the allied sovereigns, that they have contrived, by their base policy, to turn the resentments and moral displeasure of men from the usurper upon themselves. For these sovereigns we have no defence to offer. We yield to none in detestation of the holy alliance, profanely so called. To us its doctrines are as false and pestilent as any broached by jacobinism. The allied monarchs are adding to the other wrongs of despots that of flagrant ingratitude; of ingratitude to the generous and brave nations to whom they owe their thrones, whose spirit of independence and patriotism, and whose hatred of the oppressor, contributed more than standing armies to raise up the fallen, and to strengthen the falling monarchies of Europe. Be it never forgotten in the records of despotism, let history record it on her most durable tablet, that the first use made by the principal continental sovereigns of their regained or confirmed power, was to conspire against the hopes and rights of the nations by whom they had been saved; and to combine the military power of Europe against free institutions, against the press, against the spirit of liberty and patriotism which had sprung up in the glorious struggle with Napoleon against the right of the people to exert an influence on the governments by which their dearest interests were to be controlled. Never be it forgotten that such was the honour of sovereigns, such their requital for the blood which had been shed freely in their defence. Freedom and humanity send up a solemn and prevailing cry against them to that tribunal where kings and subjects are soon to stand as equals.

But still we should be strangely blind if we were not to feel that the fall of Napoleon was a blessing to the world. Who can look, for example, at France, and not see there a degree of freedom which could never have grown up under the terrible frown of the usurper? True, Bonaparte's life, though it seemed a charmed one, must at length have ended; and we are told that then his empire would have been broken, and that the general crash, by some inexplicable process, would have given birth to a more extensive and durable liberty than can now be hoped. But such anticipations seem to us to be built on a strange inattention to the nature and inevitable consequences of Napoleon's power. It was wholly a military power. He was literally turning Europe into a camp, and drawing its best talent into one occupation—war. Thus Europe was retracing its steps to those ages of calamity and darkness when the only law was the sword. The progress of centuries, which had consisted chiefly in the substitution of intelligence, public opinion, and other mild and rational influences, for brutal force, was to be reversed. At Bonaparte's death his empire must, indeed, have been dissolved; but military chiefs, like Alexander's lieutenants, would have divided it. The sword alone would have shaped its future communities; and after years of desolation and bloodshed,

Europe would have found, not repose, but a respite, an armed truce, under warriors whose only title to empire would have been their own good blades, and the weight of whose thrones would have been upheld by military force alone. Amidst such convulsions, during which the press would have been every where fettered, and the military spirit would have triumphed over and swallowed up the spirit and glory of letters and liberal arts, we greatly fear that the human intellect would have lost its present impulse, its thirst for progress, and would have fallen back towards barbarism. Let not the friends of freedom bring dishonour on themselves, or desert their cause, by instituting comparisons between Napoleon and legitimate sovereigns, which may be construed into eulogies on the former. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with tyranny, whether it bear the name of usurpation or legitimacy. We are not pleading the cause of the allied sovereigns. In our judgment they have contracted the very guilt against which they have pretended to combine. In our apprehension, a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power. Still we are bound in truth to confess, that the allied sovereigns are not to be ranked with Bonaparte, whose design against the independence of nations, and the liberties of the world, in this age of civilization, liberal thinking, and Christian knowledge, is in our estimation the most nefarious enterprise recorded in history.

The series of events, which it has been our province to review, offers subjects of profound thought and solemn instruction to the moralist and politician. We have retraced it with many painful feelings. It shows us a great people, who had caught some indistinct glimpses of freedom, and of a nobler and a happier political constitution, betrayed by their leaders, and brought back, by a military despot, to heavier chains than those they had broken. We see with indignation one man, a man like ourselves, subjecting whole nations to his absolute rule. It is this wrong and insult to our race which has chiefly moved us. Had a storm of God's ordination passed over Europe, prostrating its capitals, sweeping off its villages, burying millions in ruins, we should have wept, we should have trembled. But in this there would have been only wretchedness. Now we also see debasement. To us there is something radically, and increasingly shocking, in the thought of one man's will becoming a law to his race; in the thought of multitudes, of vast communities, surrendering conscience, intellect, their affections, their rights, their interests, to the stern mandate of a fellow-creature. When we see one word of a frail man on the throne of France, tearing a hundred thousand sons from their homes, breaking asunder the sacred ties of domestic life, sentencing myriads of the young to make murder their calling, and rapacity their

means of support, and extorting from nations their treasures to extend this ruinous sway, we are ready to ask ourselves, Is not this a dream? And when the sad reality comes home to us, we blush for a race which can stoop to such an abject lot. At length, indeed, we see the tyrant humbled, stripped of power; but stripped by those who, with one exception, are not unwilling to play the despot on a narrower scale, and to break down the spirit of nations under the same iron sway.

How is it, that tyranny has thus triumphed? that the hopes with which we greeted the French revolution have been crushed? that an usurper plucked up the last roots of the tree of liberty, and planted despotism in its place? The chief cause is not far to seek, nor can it be too often urged on the friends of freedom. France failed through the want of that moral preparation for liberty, without which the blessing cannot be secured. She was not ripe for the good she sought. She was too corrupt for freedom. France had indeed to contend with great political ignorance; but had not ignorance been reinforced by deep moral defect, she might have won her way to free institutions. Her character forbade her to be free; and it now seems strange that we could ever have expected her to secure this boon. How could we believe, that a liberty of which that heartless scoffer, Voltaire, was a chief apostle, could have triumphed? Most of the preachers of French liberty had thrown off all the convictions which ennoble the mind. Man's connexion with God they broke, for they declared that there was no God, in whom to trust in the great struggle for liberty. Human immortality, that truth which is the seed of all greatness, they derided. To their philosophy, man was a creature of chance, a compound of matter, an ephemeron, a worm, who was soon to rot and perish for ever. What insanity was it to expect that such men were to work out the emancipation of their race! that in such hands the hopes and dearest rights of humanity were secure. Liberty was tainted by their touch, polluted by their breath, and yet we trusted that it was to rise in health and glory from their embrace. We looked to men who openly founded morality on private interest, for the sacrifices, the devotion, the heroic virtue, which freedom always demands from her assertors.

The great cause of the discomfiture of the late European struggle for liberty is easily understood by an American, who recurs to the history of his own revolution. This issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of the whole people. It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influences, like "a

mighty heart," through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free. We have here an explanation of a striking fact in the history of our revolution; we mean the want or absence of that description of great men, whom we meet in other countries; men, who, by their distinct and single agency, and by their splendid deeds, determine a nation's fate. There was too much greatness in the American people, to admit this overshadowing greatness of leaders. Accordingly the United States had no liberator, no political saviour. Washington indeed conferred on us great blessings. But Washington was not a hero in the common sense of that word. We never spoke of him as the French did of Bonaparte, never talked of his eagle-eyed irresistible genius, as if this were to work out our safety. We never lost our self-respect. We felt, that under God, we were to be free through our own courage, energy, and wisdom, under the animating and guiding influences of this great and good mind. Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities, and not by transcendent talent, which, we apprehend, he did not possess. To him belonged, the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit which reigned in his country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence. In such a revolution as that of France, Washington would have been nothing; for that sympathy which subsisted between him and his fellow-citizens, and which was the secret of his power, would have been wanting. By an instinct which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence, the Father of his Country, but not its Saviour. A people, which wants a saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is it to be hoped that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues which we are told can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its temples are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How then is the spirit of a wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force; for nothing is

gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say, that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient, by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men, whom God hath inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom (and such are spread through all Europe), must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men in masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction of the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit by every channel which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and still more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths, which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to proscribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion; we mean the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man, who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death. This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free, but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught, alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have been baptized, by a true experience into this vital and all-comprehending truth, must every where be its propagators; and he who makes one convert to it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment, that we place our hope of freedom; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion, we would rather say, a divine power in sublime moral principle. This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes, who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honour, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy, before which tyranny is to fall, is that of

Carlet del

QUELLE LEÇON POUR L' HOMME !

WHAT A LESSON FOR MAN !

## "WHAT A LESSON FOR MAN!"

In Italy, after the battle of Bassano, Napoleon, followed by some superior officers surveyed the place where the battle was contended. The moon shed her light upon that scene of horror, and the profound silence of the night was disturbed only by the sad cries of the wounded, and the dismal groans of the dying. All at once a dog that had been lying on a dead body, came forward moaning; he alternately advanced and receded, seemingly divided between the desire of avenging the death of his master, and the fear of allowing the body to become cold, which he was desirous of reviving. Napoleon stopped; his soul was moved,—and comparing, in spite of himself, the faithful friendship of the animal to the neglect with which the other victims were treated, he remained absorbed in profound meditation.

"What a lesson for man!" at last he cried. It was the first time his heart uttered its sentiments; his head then forgot the duties of his situation, and the interests of his policy.

The impression was so strong, that twenty-five years after he spoke of it again on the rock of St. Helena!

virtuous elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature: which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding as they should be in God and their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.

We close our present labours with commending to the protection of Almighty God the cause of human freedom and improvement. We adore the wisdom and goodness of his providence, which has ordained that liberty shall be wrought out by the magnanimity, courage, and sacrifices of men. We bless him for the glorious efforts which this cause has already called forth; for the intrepid defenders who have gathered round it, and whose fame is a most precious legacy of past ages; for the toils and sufferings by which it has been upheld; for the awakening and thrilling voice which comes to us from the dungeon and scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have pined or bled. We bless him that even tyranny has been overruled for good by exciting a resistance, which has revealed to us the strength of virtuous principle in the human soul. We beseech this great and good Parent, from whom all pure influences proceed, to enkindle, by his quickening breath, an unquenchable love of virtue and freedom in those favoured men, whom he hath enriched and signalized by eminent gifts and powers, that they may fulfil the high function of inspiring their fellow-beings with a consciousness of the birth-right and destination of human nature. Wearied with violence and blood, we beseech him to subvert oppressive governments by the gentle yet awful power of truth and virtue: by the teachings of uncorrupted Christianity; by the sovereignty of enlightened opinion, by the triumph of sentiments of magnanimity, by mild, rational, and purifying influences, which will raise the spirit of the enslaved, and which sovereigns will be unable to withstand. For this peaceful revolution we earnestly pray. If, however, after long forbearing, and unavailing applications to justice and humanity, the friends of freedom should be summoned by the voice of God within, and by his providence abroad, to vindicate their rights with other arms, to do a sterner work, to repel despotic force by force, may they not forget, even in this hour of provocation, the spirit which their high calling demands! Let them take the sword with awe, as those on whom a holy function is devolved. Let them regard themselves as ministers and delegates of Him, whose dearest attribute is mercy. Let them not stain their sacred cause by one cruel deed, by the infliction of one needless pang, by shedding without cause one drop of human blood.

# APPENDIX.

## CONVERSATIONS OF NAPOLEON WITH CANOVA.

The permanent, or at least temporary, residence of Canova, at Paris, had long been a desideratum with its inhabitants; and in the month of September, 1809, the Duchess of Bracciano, who was in that capital, communicated this wish to her husband in Italy, adding that Madam Mère would receive that great artist in her palace with the most flattering distinction and respect. Whilst, therefore, Canova was engaged upon his statue of Venus, he received, in the name of Napoleon, who was then in Holland, a formal invitation to proceed to Paris. Great hopes were held out to him should he consent. Canova politely excused himself, alleging, among other reasons, that were he required to change his mode of life, he should be lost both to himself and his art, for which alone he lived. We begged Cardinal Fesch and the Chevalier Denon to prevent his being further pressed upon the subject; but, at length, he determined upon going himself to inform the Emperor of his sentiments. His arrival at Paris was announced in great form. On the 11th of October, 1810, he arrived at Fontainebleau, and the next day was presented to Napoleon. The Emperor, says the Abbé Missirini, the biographer of the Italian Phidias, at this time attracted the attention of all Europe; and every circumstance connected with that extraordinary man excited universal admiration. Canova, therefore, having had several very familiar conversations with him, determined upon taking notes of them, under the impression that one day they might be of some importance; he likewise hoped, as he himself said, that they would present a proof of his firmness, since, being neither seduced by flattering offers, nor alarmed by danger, he boldly declared the truth to so powerful a monarch.

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On the 12th of October, about noon, Marshal Duroc presented me (says Canova) to Napoleon, who had just sat down to breakfast, and, with the exception of the empress, was alone. "You have grown rather thinner, M. Canova," were the first words he said to me. I replied, that it was the natural effect of my incessant application; after which I respectfully thanked him for the honour he had conferred on me by requiring my attendance, for the purpose of employing me professionally, and of learning my opinions upon the fine arts; I did not, however, conceal, that it was impossible for me to fix my residence out of Rome, the reasons for which I explained to him.

"Paris," said he, "is the capital of the world—you must remain here: we shall make much of you."—"Sire, you may command me, but if it please your Majesty that my life should be devoted to your service, permit me, Sire, to return to Rome, after having completed the object of my visit here." At these words he smiled, and said, "In Paris you will be in your element; for here are all the chef-d'œuvres of art, the Farnese Hercules alone excepted; but we shall soon have that too."—"May it please your Majesty," replied I, "to leave Italy, at least, something. These monuments of antiquity are inseparably connected with many others, which it would be impossible to remove, either from Rome or Naples."—"Italy can indemnify herself by excavations," said he; "I shall order some to be commenced at Rome. Pray has the Pope been at much expense in excavations?"

I informed him that, owing to the want of funds, his Holiness had, at present, expended but little upon this object; but that he was of a generous disposition, and was favourably inclined towards all great undertakings; and that, thanks to his ardent love for science, and to a well-regulated economy, he had succeeded in forming a new Museum."

Napoleon here interrupted me by asking if the Borghese family had been at much expense in excavations; to which I replied that they had not, as they generally undertook them in conjunction with other persons, whose shares they afterwards purchased. I availed myself of this opportunity to convince him, that the people of Rome possessed a sacred right over all the monuments of antiquity which might be discovered on their territory; this being a species of property inherent in the soil, so that neither the noble families of Rome, nor even the Pope himself, had a right to remove these precious remains from Rome, to which city they belonged, as the inheritance of their ancestors, and the reward of their victories. "The Borghese marbles," said he, "cost me fourteen millions. How much does the Pope annually expend upon the fine arts? A hundred thousand crowns?"—"Not so much; for he is extremely poor."—"Great things, then, may be done with much less?"—"Certainly."

The conversation then turned upon the colossal statue of Napoleon, executed by me, and he seemed to wish that it had been in the modern dress. "Omnipotence itself," replied I, "would have failed, had it attempted to represent your Majesty as I now see you, with small clothes, boots, &c. in short, in the French costume. In statuary, as in all other arts, we have our sublime style; the sculptor's sublimity is nakedness, and a kind of drapery peculiar to our art." I then quoted to him several examples from the poets and the ancient monuments. The Emperor appeared convinced by them: happening, however, to speak of the other equestrian statue which I was about to model for him, and knowing that it was with drapery, Napoleon said to me, "And why is not this also represented naked?"—"It must be in the heroic costume," replied I; "nor is it correct that it should be naked in the act in which your Majesty is represented, that of a general on horseback, at the head of his army." I added, that such was the custom of the ancients, and still so that of the moderns; that the ancient kings of France in their equestrian statues had always been so represented, as was likewise that of Joseph II. at Vienna.

"Have you seen," said he, "the bronze statue of General Desaix? It appears to be very ill executed: his sash is ridiculous."

I was about to answer; but he resumed, "Is my statue a full length?"—"It is, Sire, and is already cast very successfully: an engraving has also been executed from it, and the artist wishes to have the honour of dedicating his work to your Majesty. He is an excellent young man, and your magnificence is interested in encouraging young artists, during a period so unpropitious to them."—"I wish to visit Rome," said he. I answered, "That country well deserves to be seen by your Majesty, who will find in it many objects capable of warming your imagination, such as the Capitol, the Forum of Trajan, the Sacred Way, the columns, triumphal arches," &c. &c. I then described to him some magnificent monuments, particularly the Appian Way, from Rome to Brindisi, both sides of which, like the other consular roads, are bordered with tombs. "What is there astonishing in this," said he, "the Romans were masters of the world?"—"It was not only the power," rejoined I, "but Italian genius and our love of the sublime, which produced so many magnificent works. Let your Majesty be pleased to reflect upon what the Florentines alone have done, who possessed but a very straitened territory; what also the Venetians. The Florentines had the courage to raise their wonderful cathedral by an additional tax of one penny in the pound upon the manufacture of woollen stuffs; and this alone was found sufficient for the erection of an edifice, the expenses of which would be too much for the treasury of any modern power. They also caused the gates of St. John to be executed in bronze, by Ghiberti, at the expense of forty thousand sequins, equivalent in the present day to several millions of francs. Let your Majesty also consider their industry, and at the same time their public spirit."

Such was the first conversation, after which I received the necessary orders for commencing the statue of the Empress.

On the 15th of October I began my labours, and continued during several sittings, in which I had always an opportunity of speaking with the Emperor upon different subjects, as I saw him constantly at his breakfast hour, a time in which he was totally unoccupied.

He began by asking me, "If the air of Rome was as bad and unhealthy in the time of the ancients as in our days?"—"It appears to have been so," I replied, "according to the historians. The ancients, it is clear, took precautions against the unwholesome air by means of woods and forests, which they called sacred; besides, the immense population which covered the country diminished the fatal effects of this scourge. I remember to have read in Tacitus, that upon the return of the troops of Vitellius from Germany, they fell ill, from having slept on the Vatican Mount." The Emperor immediately rang for his librarian to bring him Tacitus. We could not meet with the passage, but I sent it him shortly afterwards. He resumed by telling me, that soldiers, who arrived at Rome from distant countries, always fell ill during the first year; but that they afterwards recovered their health. In speaking of Rome, I described to him the desolation of that city; I showed him that this country could not recover itself without the assistance of some great power; that after Rome had lost the Pope, all the foreign ministers, forty cardinals, and more

*H. Vernet.*

LE SOLDAT LABOUREUR

THE SOLDIER HUSBANDMAN

# THE SOLDIER HUSBANDMAN.

HORACE VERNET has here presented us with a touching picture. It is 1815; the conscript army is disbanded, and the wretched victims of Napoleon's ambition are thrown upon the hospitality of their countrymen. Many of these were entirely dependent upon the bounty of others—friends were dead, and home they had none.

No circumstances exempted the Frenchman from the operation of the infamous conscription law. It might be the only son of a widowed parent, or the young husband and father, it mattered not; all were alike compelled to abandon home, and every tie and hope of life, at a moment's notice. Eighty thousand youths under the age of twenty-one were the victims of the first ballot under the law of 1798. When this supply was found insufficient for Napoleon's purpose, the lists of those aged twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, and twenty-five, were successively resorted to.

"There is nothing in the history of modern Europe so remarkable," says an intelligent English writer, "as that the French people should have submitted, during sixteen years, to the constant operation of a despotic law, which sapped all the foundations of social happiness, and condemned the rising hopes of the nation to bleed and die by millions in distant wars, undertaken solely for the gratification of one man's insatiable ambition."

than two hundred prelates, besides a great number of canons and other ecclesiastics, had already set off; and that the consequence of this emigration would be, that grass would grow in the streets. I observed to him, that a desire for his glory emboldened me to speak candidly to him, and to supplicate him to remedy the want of so much treasure that formerly flowed into Rome from all parts, but which now no longer entered it. "This treasure was not very considerable latterly," said he, "and the cultivation of cotton must be productive of some profit."—"But very little," returned I; "Lucien alone has made a few experiments in its culture: besides, Rome is in want of every thing, and your Majesty's protection is all that is now left it."—"We will make it the capital of Italy," said he, smiling, "and we will also join Naples with it. Well, what do you say? will that please you?"—"The arts," added I, "would also be productive of great prosperity to Rome; but the arts at present languish; and, with the exception of your Majesty and the imperial family, who have given some commissions, artists are now without employment. Religion, which at one time so much contributed to the prosperity of the arts, has nearly become lukewarm and indifferent." Here I proved, by examples drawn from the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, that religion alone had caused the arts to flourish; that vast sums had been employed in the construction of the Parthenon, in the statues of the Olympian Jove, Minerva, &c. &c.; that not only conquerors, but even courtezans, offered their statues to the gods; that the Romans had acted in the same manner; that they had impressed the seal of religion upon all their works, in order to throw round them greater awe and respect; and I cited as examples, their courts, statues, theatres, &c. &c. I afterwards mentioned the master-pieces of modern art, executed from religious motives; the church of St. Marc, at Venice—the cathedrals of Pisa and Orvieto—the Campo Santo of Pisa—and numberless other wonders, filled with statuary and beautiful paintings. My deduction was, that every religion has been favourable to the arts, and the Roman Catholic much more than any other; a chapel and a simple cross suffice for the protestant, and consequently afford no encouragement to the arts. Then the Emperor, turning to Maria Louisa, said, "He is right, religion always promotes the arts, and the protestants can produce nothing great."

The conversation falling upon my benefactor, Pius VII., I thought it my duty to say: "Why does not your Majesty become reconciled, in some degree, with the Pope?"—"Because priests wish to command every where," replied he; "because they wish to meddle with every thing and be masters of everything, like Gregory VII."—"It seems to me that, at present, there is no reason to apprehend this, since your Majesty's power is every where supreme."—"The Popes," added he, "have always hindered the resuscitation of the Italian nation, even when they were not the absolute masters of Rome; and this they effected by means of the factions of the Colonnas and the Orsini."—"Truly," rejoined I, "If the Popes had had your Majesty's courage, they might have found many favourable opportunities of making themselves masters of all Italy."—"As to that, this is what is wanted," cried he, placing his hand on his sword, "this is the one thing needful."—"That is true," replied I: "we have seen that if

Alexander VI. had lived, Duke Valentino would have commenced the conquest of Italy. The attempts of this kind made by Julian II. and Leo X., were, likewise, not unsuccessful; but in general the Popes were elected at too advanced an age, and if one of them was enterprising, the succeeding one, perhaps, was mild and pacific."—"It is the sword that is wanted."—"Not the sword only," replied I, "but also the pastoral staff. Machiavelli himself dared not to decide which of the two had more contributed to the aggrandisement of Rome, the arms of Romulus or the religion of Numa. So true it is, that these two means should be employed simultaneously. If the Pontiffs did not always signalize themselves by military exploits, they however, performed such brilliant actions, as always to excite the admiration of the world."

"What a great people were the Romans!" cried he.—"So they were, undoubtedly, till the second Punic War," added I.—Cæsar, Cæsar, was the great man," he continued; "not Cæsar only, but some of the succeeding Emperors, such as Titus, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius. . . . The Romans were always great," said he, "till the time of Constantine. The Popes were wrong in fomenting discord in Italy; and in always being the first to call in the French and Germans. They were not capable of being soldiers themselves, and they have lost much."—"Since it is so," rejoined I, "your Majesty will not permit our evils to increase; but I can assure your Majesty, that unless you come to Rome's assistance, this city will become what it was when the Popes transferred the Papal seat to Avignon. Before that time it had immense supplies of water and many fountains; but the aqueducts fell into ruins, and the water of the Tiber was sold in the streets: the city was a desert." At these words he appeared affected, and then said with much vivacity, "Obstacles are thrown in my way: and this too, when I am master of France, Italy, and three-fourths of Germany; I am the successor of Charlemagne. If the present Pope were like his predecessor of that day, all might be arranged. And have not your Venetians also quarrelled with him?"—"Not in the same manner as your Majesty," replied I. "You are so great, Sire, that you could easily grant the Pontiff some spot in which his independence might be conspicuous, and in which he could have the free exercise of his ministry."

"What!" said he, "do I not allow him to do every thing he pleases, so long as he does not interfere in temporal concerns?"—"Yes, but your ministers do not follow your example. As soon as the Pope publishes any order which is displeasing to the French Government, it is immediately annulled."—"How," replied he, "do I not permit the bishops to govern the church as they think fit? Is there no religion here? Who restored the altars? Who protected the clergy?"—"If your Majesty," said I, "had pious subjects, they would be still more attached and submissive to your person."—"This is what I desire," replied he; "but the Pope is German all over;" and so saying this, he looked at the Empress, who said, "I can assure you, that when I was in Germany, the Pope was said to be wholly French."—"He would not," added Napoleon, "drive either the Russians or the English from his dominions. That is the cause of our misunderstanding."

Then I took the liberty of saying, that I had read the papers and justificative pieces printed by the Pope, together with the official documents, and that he appeared to me to have reason on his side. At this instant Marshal Duroc entered; but Napoleon interrupting me, went on—"He has even pretended to excommunicate me. Is he not aware that we might become the same as the English and the Russians?"—"I humbly crave your Majesty's pardon; but the zeal which animates me, inspires me with confidence to speak with freedom: you must allow, Sire, such a schism is contrary to your interests. I sincerely pray that Heaven may grant you a long life; but when misfortune arrives, it is to be feared that some ambitious person might suddenly appear, who for his own views, embracing those of the Pope, might occasion great disturbance in the state. In a short time, Sire, you will be a father; you should think of fixing things upon a solid basis. I earnestly entreat your Majesty to effect, in some shape or other, a reconciliation with the Pope."

"You are then anxious to see us reconciled,—so am I too; but recollect what the Romans were before they had Popes."—"Let your Majesty also reflect how religious the Romans were when they were great. That Cæsar, who is so much celebrated, ascended on his knees the steps of the Capitol to approach the Temple of Jupiter. Armies never engaged unless the religious auspices were favourable; and if a battle were fought, or even gained without them, the general was punished. Marcellus' zeal for sacred things is well known; also how a consul was condemned for having taken off the tiles from the temple of Jupiter, in Greece. In God's name, I entreat your Majesty to protect religion and its chief, and to preserve the beautiful temples of Italy and Rome. It is far more delightful to be the object of affection than that of fear."—"That is what I wish," said he, breaking off the conversation.

Upon another occasion, Venice, its artists and monuments, were the subject of conversation; and he said that he had met with excellent geographical maps in Italy. He inquired of me the names of the architects, and I mentioned the principal ones, giving to each the praise he merited. I then spoke to him of the architect Soli, who was superintending the new edifices, and who had prevented the destruction of the beautiful edifices, as had been proposed. I also mentioned Palladio, and eulogized the engraved plates with which he had enriched Cæsar's Commentaries. I also brought to his remembrance the superb edifices built by him throughout the Venetian state. My recommendation of Venice was so warm that the emotion I felt made my eyes swim with tears, and I said to him, "I assure your Majesty, that the Venetians are a worthy people."—"You speak the truth, I believe them to be so."—"But they are not happy, Sire; commerce is proscribed—the taxes are heavy; in some departments people cannot sustain life: this is the case with Passereano, in favour of which a celebrated pamphlet has been published, which perhaps your Majesty has seen."—"No," said he. I summoned courage, and added; "I have a copy, which I will present to your Majesty, if it be your pleasure." I immediately opened my portfolio, and put the pamphlet into his hands.

Napoleon, looking at the paper, said, "It is short;" and, inter-

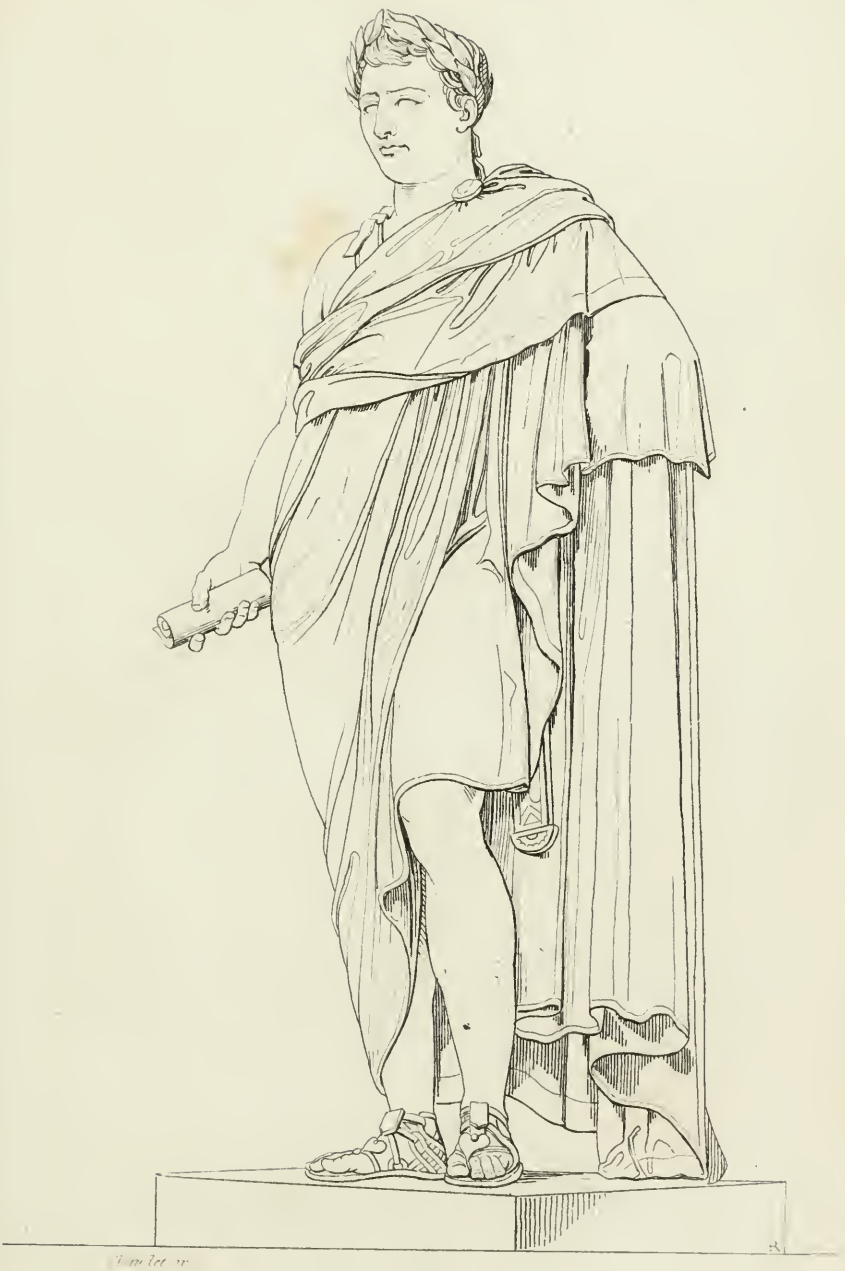
rupting his breakfast, read it; after which, "I will speak to Aldini about it," said he. He placed it by his side, and took it away with him when he left the room. Resuming our conversation upon Venice, I expatiated upon the form and spirit of its government, and observed to him, that according to Machiavelli's opinion, it did not appear possible to me that Venice could ever fall. This great politician, going in quality of the Minister from Florence to the Emperor of Germany, wrote thus to Vettore Vettorito: "'My dear Friend—it appears to me, that the Venetians are disposed to take the right road, as they have described Saint Marc with the sword; and truly the book is not sufficient." I added that the Venetians, fearing lest a Cæsar might arise among them, had never consented to having a native general on terra firma; and that, if they had one, without, however, ever enlarging the term of his functions, they would have performed exploits far more brilliant.

"It is true," replied the Emperor, "the prolongation of command is a very dangerous thing: I myself told the Directory, that if they wished continually for war, they would at last find a person who would dictate to them."

Another time the conversation turned upon the Florentines, occasioned by his asking me where I had placed Alfieri's monument. "In the church of Santa Croce," replied I; "where are also those of Michael Angelo and Machiavelli."—"Who paid for it?"—"The Countess of Albany."—Who paid for Machiavelli's monument?"—"I believe it was raised by subscription."—"And that of Galileo?"—"His relations, if I am not mistaken. The church of Santa Croce," continued I, "is in a wretched condition; the rain penetrates through the roof, and a thorough repair is necessary. Your Majesty's glory is interested in the preservation of these fine monuments; if the government takes the revenues, it is but just to leave the donations for the necessary repairs of the building. It is the same with the cathedral of Florence; dilapidations have already commenced, for want of funds to keep it in order. As we are upon the subject of churches, the repositories of interesting works of art, I beg to say, that I am charged to supplicate your Majesty, that you will not permit the monuments of art to be sold to the Jews."—"How sold?" cried he: "all that is worth any thing shall be brought here."

"May it graciously please your Majesty to leave Florence in possession of all its monuments, which are a necessary accompaniment to the works in fresco, which it is impossible to remove. It would even be advisable, that the president of the academy of Florence might be at liberty to take the necessary measures for the preservation of these beautiful specimens, both of architecture and of fresco."

"I am very willing," said he. "It will be glorious for your Majesty; the more so, as I have heard it reported, that your Majesty's family is Florentine." At these words, the Empress turned round and said, "You are not a Corsican then?" "Yes," replied he, "but of Florentine origin." I then added, "that the president of the Academy of Florence, who interested himself with so much zeal in the preservation of the monuments, was the senator of Alessandri, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Florence, one



NAPOLÉON

## CHAUDET'S STATUE OF NAPOLEON.

Napoleon was anxious to place his name on the list of those Emperors of old, whose names are rendered immortal, not so much by their own heroic or noble deeds as by the flattering notices of them in the deathless writings of poets and historians. On occasion of his statue being first required for the Column which now stands in the Place Vendome, he directed that it might be attired as a senator of ancient Rome, and Chaudet produced that, of which the accompanying engraving is a faithful representative. It has since been removed for one in military uniform.

of whose daughters had formerly been married to a branch of the Bonaparte family. Thus you are an Italian, Sire, and we pride ourselves upon it." "I am so certainly," replied he. I thus immediately interested him in the Academy of Florence.

Another day also, I spoke to him for a considerable time in favour of the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, which was without a school, revenues, or resources, representing to him the necessity of organizing it on the plan of that of Milan: I again introduced the subject, observing, "Let your Majesty suppose you are minus one musician, or cantatrice, and then endow the Academy of St. Luke." This I said, because I knew that he had given Crescentini a pension of thirty-six thousand francs a-year. Finding him well disposed, I wrote to M. Menneval, the Emperor's private secretary, to inform him, that his Majesty was much inclined to favour the arts at Rome, and that he had promised a decree, of which I desired to be myself the bearer. On the 8th of November, M. Menneval forwarded me, from the Minister Marescalchi, a letter, containing his Majesty's arrangements for the Roman Academy.

Speaking of the Academy and the Roman artists, the Emperor said, "Italy is ill provided with painters; we have much better ones in France." I replied, "That it was some years since I had seen the productions of the French artists, and that therefore I could draw no comparison, but notwithstanding, we had some very distinguished men: Cammuccini and Landi, at Rome; Benvenuti, at Florence; Appiani and Bossi, at Milan; were all very eminent painters." He said, that the French were deficient in colouring; but that they surpassed the Italians in design. I did not fail to observe, that ours also were excellent designers; that leaving Camuccini out of the question, whose great merit is acknowledged, Bossi had produced some delightful outlines, and Appiano had painted in fresco the saloon of his Majesty's palace at Milan, in a style of excellence which, in my opinion, could not be surpassed. "You are right as to fresco; but not as to oil," answered he. I again undertook the defence of our artists, and observed, "That he should remember that the French artists received far greater encouragement; that they were far more numerous; and that if reckoned, their number would be found to exceed that of all the artists in the rest of Europe."

He questioned me about the saloon, and the other architectural works which were executing in Paris; and I eulogized in the manner they deserved, the French artists and their productions. "Have you seen the bronze column?"—"It strikes me as very fine, Sire."—"I do not like those eagles at the corners."—"The same ornament, however, is found on the Trajan column, of which this is an imitation."

"Will the arch constructing in the Wood de Boulogne be a fine one?"—"Particularly so. There are so many of your Majesty's works which are truly worthy of the ancient Romans, especially the magnificent roads."—"Next year," said he, "the Cornice road will be completed, by which you may travel from Paris to Genoa without crossing the snow. I shall make another from Parma to the Gulf of La Spezia, where I intend forming a large harbour."—"These are grand projects," replied I, "worthy of your Majesty's vast genius;

but the preservation of the fine productions of the ancients should not be forgotten."

On the 4th of November, in the evening, I went to the Empress, with her bust in plaister; she placed herself in the same attitude, in order to enable the ladies, who were playing with her, to form a better judgment; and they were all unanimous as to the resemblance. Napoleon was not there. The Empress, therefore, said she would show it him the next morning at breakfast. She then added, "Is it, indeed, true, M. Canova, that you will not remain here?"—"I wish to return immediately to Rome," answered I, "in order that your Majesty, upon your arrival, which I hope will not be long, may find the model of your full-length statue complete." Here the Empress put many questions to me about the manner of making the cast, and of executing it in stone. My statue of the Princess Leopoldina Lœwenstein was spoken of, and the Empress observed, "It was indeed there that ideal beauty was to be found."

Some days afterwards, the Emperor saw the bust: he placed the Empress in the attitude, made her smile, and was much pleased with my work. I told him that the cheerful expression was more consonant with the character of Concord, which I had chosen for the Empress, it being to her that we were indebted for the peace.

The Empress had a slight cold, and I took the liberty of telling her, that she appeared to me to take but little care of her health; that she went a-hunting in an open carriage, which was dangerous, particularly as she was in the family-way.

"You see what she is," said Napoleon: "every one is astonished at it; but women, (striking his forehead with the end of his finger,) women will have their own way. Listen, she now insists upon going to Cherbourg, which is at so great a distance; for my part, I am always telling her to take care of herself. Are you married?"—"No, Sire," replied I; "I have been often on the point of marriage, but several circumstances have preserved me my freedom; add to which, the fear of not meeting with a woman who would love as I should have loved, deterred me from altering my condition, that I mght be more at liberty to devote myself completely to my art."—"Ah! woman, woman!" said Napoleon, smiling and continuing to eat.

As I had several times expressed to him my wish to return to Rome, after having modelled the bust of the Empress, repeating that I wished nothing for myself, it appeared to me that my refusals displeased the Emperor; for, upon my again mentioning the circumstance of my departure, he dismissed me by saying, "Go then, since you will have it so."

# NAPOLEON DURING THE HUNDRED DAYS.

## REVIEW OF HIS TROOPS BY NAPOLEON, AT THE TUILERIES.

I HAVE seen him twice: the first time, on Sunday, April 16, 1815, at the review of the national guards; the second time, at the Français, on the following Friday, April 21, at his first visit to that theatre since his return. Having witnessed the first appearance of the Bourbon princes last year in front of the national guard and at the same theatre, I am able to make some comparison between the two receptions, and what is called the popularity, of each dynasty. The first occasion was a trial which some of the female partisans of Napoleon appeared to dread. A rumour had gone about that some violence would be attempted against the Emperor's person by the republicans on the day of the review. Several people whispered the suspicion to me, and added, that the deed was to be done by a female. The time naturally selected for the purpose was the moment when the national guards were to be all under arms, as that body, whatever may be their politics, would, it is thought, defend their properties, and the peace of the city, rather than fly to the revenge of any individual act. I was in the apartments in the Tuileries, allotted to Me. La Reine Hortense, who was present at one of the windows, together with some ladies of the court. The beautiful ——— was of the party: she manifested the utmost inquietude; told me that she had no alarm from the guards, but was uneasy at the appearance of several persons in plain clothes, crowding round the steps of the great porch of the palace, where the Emperor was to mount his horse: however, she recovered herself, and seemed to forget her fears when the discharges of cannon at the Invalides announced the surrender of Marseilles, and the pacification of the whole empire. By half-past one, twenty-four battalions of the guard had marched into the court of the Tuileries. There were no troops of the line or of the Imperial guard under arms on that day, but there were several military men amongst the spectators about the porch, who consisted chiefly of women, and of the above-mentioned persons, apparently of the lower classes. Your friend ——— and myself were, I think, the only gentlemen in plain clothes. We waited silently, and for some time, at the window—the anxiety of the ladies was renewed, but instantly dissipated by the shouts of *vive l' Empereur*, which announced that Napoleon was on horseback. He rode off to the left of the line, but the approaching shouts told that he was returning. An officer rode quickly past the windows, waving his sword to the lines to fall back a little, and shortly afterwards followed Napoleon himself, with his suite, and distinguished, from amidst their waving plumes and glittering uniforms, by the far-famed unornamented hat, and his simple coat, and single star and cross. He cantered down the lines; as he passed near the spot at which I had placed myself for a better view, he suddenly drew up and spoke to a man in the ranks:

an old soldier near me said aloud, without addressing himself to any one (the tears glistening in his eyes), "see how he stops to read the petition of the meanest of his army." I caught repeated glances of him as he glided through the ranks, at the end of each of which he stopped a short time, as well as before several soldiers in the line, who held out petitions for his acceptation. His progress was announced from right to left, and left to right, by continued acclamations. The battalions then moved nearer towards the palace in close order; the gates in front of the triumphal arch were thrown open, and the remaining twenty-four battalions, marching from the *Place du Carousal* into the court, were inspected in the same manner by the Emperor. Afterwards a space was made vacant in the midst of the court, half way between the palace and the triumphal arch. Napoleon advanced thither with his staff drawn round behind him. A large body of the officers of the national guard then quitted their ranks, and rushed towards the Emperor, who addressed them in the speech which you have seen in the Moniteur of the 17th, and which was frequently interrupted by shouts, and received at the close, when he added, "*vous jurez enfin de tout sacrifier à l'honneur et à l'independance de la France,*" by a thousand voices exclaiming, "we swear." After some thronging and movements, the Emperor wheeled round into an open space before the porch of the Tuileries, and put himself in front of his staff to review the whole body of the troops who prepared to pass by in columns of companies; two officers of the guard were kind enough to push me forwards within ten paces of him; many of the spectators were about the same distance from him on his right and his left, whilst a whole line of them stood opposite, just far enough to allow the columns to march between them and the Emperor. The staff were behind; Count Lobau was close upon his left, with his sword drawn: scarcely had a regiment passed when he suddenly threw his foot out of the stirrup, and coming heavily to the ground, advanced in front of his horse, which was led off by an aide-de-camp, who rushed forwards, but was too late to take hold of his stirrup. The marshals and the staff dismounted, except Count Lobau. A grenadier of the guard, without arms, stood at the Emperor's left hand, a little behind; some spectators were close to his right. The gendarmerie on horseback took but little pains to keep them at a respectful distance. The troops were two hours passing before him; during the whole of which time any assassin, unless disarmed by his face of *fascination,* might have shot or even stabbed him.

His face was of a deadly pale; his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard; his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Kean. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples: the crown of his head was bald. One of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is "*notre petit tondu.*" He was not fat in the upper part of his body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so, that his linen appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them: played with his nose; took snuff three or four times, and looked at

*Bellangé* f

ADIEUX D'UN BRAVE.

A BRAVE BIDDING A LAST ADIEU

## THE DYING SOLDIER'S FAREWELL.

This picture was sketched in an ambulance. The brave corporal has received a mortal wound, and takes his last adieu of his young comrade.

How many a scene like this has been witnessed on the battle-field! How many of the strong and the powerful among mankind, have the murder-working engines of war brought to a premature death!

Belangé's figures are true to nature; there is nothing *outré* in them; nor any thing of the conventional mannerism of the atelier, which throws so much coldness into ordinary compositions. "It will be seen," says the French critic, "that M. Bellangé will take the places of Vernet and Charlet, if those gentlemen are content to repose on their fame, or become indifferent to the art which they have so worthily exercised."

his watch. He seemed to have a labouring, in his chest, sighing or swallowing his spittle. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled, in some sort, agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eye-brows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience. As the front columns of each regiment passed him, he lifted the first finger of his left hand quickly to his hat, to return the salute, but did not move either his hat or his head. As the regiments advanced, they shouted, some loudly, some feebly, "*vive l'Empereur*," and many soldiers ran out of their ranks with petitions, which were taken by the grenadier on the Emperor's left hand: once or twice, the petitioner, afraid to quit his rank, was near losing his opportunity, when Napoleon beckoned to the grenadier to step forward and take his paper. A little child, in true French taste, tricked out in regimentals, marched before one of the bands, and a general laugh ensued. Napoleon contrived to talk to some one behind him at that moment, that the ridicule might not reach, nor be partaken by him. A second child, however, of six years old perhaps, dressed out with a beard like a pioneer, marching in front of a regiment, strode directly up to him with a petition on the end of a battle-axe, which the Emperor took and read very complacently. Shortly after, an ill-looking fellow, in a half suit of regimentals, with a sword by his side, ran from the crowd of spectators, opposite or from amidst the national guards, I could not see which, and rushed directly towards the Emperor. He was within arm's length, when the grenadier on the left and an officer jumped forwards, and seizing him by the collar, pushed him farther back. Napoleon did not move a muscle of his body; not a line, not a shade of his face shifted for an instant. Perfectly unstartled, he beckoned the soldiers to let loose their prisoner; and the poor fellow approaching so close as almost to touch his person in front, talked to him for some time with eager gestures, and his hand on his heart. The Emperor heard him without interruption, and then gave him an answer, which sent him away apparently much satisfied with his audience. I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance, at the first movement of the soldier, relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory.

During the review, hearing a movement amongst his staff, he turned round, and seeing that it arose from a very pretty countrywoman of ours, whom one of his aides-de-camp was placing near him, replied to her courtesies with a very low bow.

The last regiment of the national guards was followed by ninety boys of the Imperial Lyceum, who came rushing by, shouting, and running, many of them out of their ranks, with petitions. Then, for the first time, Napoleon seemed delighted; he opened his mouth almost to a laugh, and turned round to his attendants on the right and left with every sign of satisfaction. These youths wished to fight the last year at the defence of Paris, and they are now again enrolled.

As to Napoleon's reception at the *Français*, it is impossible to give any idea of the joy by which he was hailed. The house was choked with spectators, who crowded into the orchestra. The play was Hector. Previously to the rising of the curtain, the airs of La Victoire and the Marseillaise were called for and performed amidst thunders of applause,

the spectators joining in the burden of the song. An actor of the Feydeau rose in the balcony and sung some occasional words to the Marseillaise, which were received in raptures, and accompanied by the whole house at the end of each verse. The enthusiasm was at its utmost pitch. Napoleon entered at the third scene. The whole mass rose with a shout which still thunders in my ears. The *vives* continued till the Emperor, after bowing to the right and left, had seated himself, and the play was recommenced. The audience received every speech which had the least reference to their returned hero with unnumbered plaudits. The words "*enfin il reparoit,*" and "*c'étoit lui,*" —*Achille,* raised the whole parterre, and interrupted the actor for some moments. Napoleon was very attentive; whilst I saw him, he spoke to none of those who stood behind him, nor returned the compliments of the audience: he withdrew suddenly at the end of the play, without any notice or obeisance, so that the multitude had hardly time to salute him with a short shout. As I mentioned before, I saw the Bourbon princes received, for the first time, in the same place last year. Their greeting will bear no comparison with that of Napoleon, nor will any of those accorded to the heroes of the very many ceremonies I have witnessed in the course of my life. Mr. Talma played Hector in his usual powerful style; and having mentioned the name of this great actor, I cannot forbear adding a story I heard from him, which shows that Napoleon has some ability in turning a kind compliment. At the first meeting between the Emperor and actor since the return from Elba, the former, addressing him with his usual familiarity, said, "So, Talma, Chateaubriand says that you gave me lessons how to act the Emperor: I take his hint as a compliment, for it shows I must at least have played my part well."

The intimacy between the master and the scholar has been of long standing: the reputation of the former was established when the latter was scarcely known, and the young officer accepted of admissions for the theatre from his acquaintance. At that time one of the principal amusements of the two friends, together with that of a third person, a Mr. Le Noire, afterwards a general, was the relation of stories of ghosts and old castles, into which (the candles being extinguished) the future conqueror of Europe entered with all his heart, and was seriously offended when his companions interrupted him by tripping up his chair, shaking the table, or any other practical pleasantry.

### PARIS ON THE ENTRANCE OF NAPOLEON.

Paris, on the entry of Napoleon, presented but a mournful spectacle. The crowd which went out to meet the Emperor remained in the outskirts of the city; the shops were shut; no one appeared at the windows; the boulevards were lined with a multitude collected about the many mountebanks, tumblers, &c., which for the two last days had been placed there in greater numbers than usual by the police, in order to divert the populace. There was no noise nor any acclamations; a few low murmurs and whispers were alone heard, when the spectators of these open shows turned round to look at the string of six or eight carriages, which preceded the imperial troops. The regiments then passed along, and cried out *Vive l'Empereur ;—*

not a word from any one. They tried the more popular and ancient exclamation, *Vive Bonaparte ;*—all still silent. The patience of the dragoons was exhausted ; some brandished their swords, others drew their pistols, and rode into the alleys amidst the people, exclaiming, "*crie, donc, Vive l'Empereur!*" but the crowd only gave way, and retreated without uttering a word.

### UNION OF THE WORKMEN OF ST. ANTOINE.

On Sunday last, May 14, a body of the workmen of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, representing a federation, which had two days before formed itself in those suburbs, to the number of 30,000, marched before the Emperor at the Tuileries. The express purpose of this union is to form a body of sharpshooters to fight in advance of the national guard, in case the enemy shall present itself before the capital. They demand arms, with which they promise to guarantee Paris against the reappearance of the allies. The number of those who were ranged in order of battle at the court of the Tuileries, and passed Napoleon previously to his review of some regiments of the line and of the young guard, amounted to 12,000 ; they had demanded this presentation, but had made no preparation for appearing before their Emperor, the greater part being in their labouring dresses, and in their dustmen's hats : nevertheless, when drawn up and when marching, they fell so easily into their ranks, and proceeded in such order, that they might, in any other country, have been taken for old soldiers ;. indeed, many of them have served.

On the 30th of March, the works of Paris were re-commenced at the fountain of the Elephant, the Louvre, the new market-place of St. Germains, and the office of foreign affairs : the next week the workmen were doubled ; the streets recovered their former names ; the public buildings their imperial inscriptions ; the theatres were declared on their ancient footing ; and the imperial conservatory, for the education and maintenance of actors and singers of both sexes, restored. This is the only establishment of the kind in Europe ; it was commenced under the republic, but received its present endowment chiefly from Napoleon. The representations take place every other Sunday, at two o'clock, when the pupils, in their usual dresses, sing and recite portions of operas and plays to an audience which pays for admission, and thus contributes to support the institution. M. Talma is the principal professor of declamation. The suppression of the conservatory by the Bourbons was a measure the economy of which was not sufficiently considerable to be set off against the odium occasioned by this declaration against the amusements of the Parisians, who had rather be limited to their ounces of bread, as in the days of terror, than be deprived of their shows.

### FÊTE GIVEN BY THE IMPERIAL GUARD.

On this Sunday, the 2d, the imperial guard gave a fête to the national guard and garrison of Paris, in the Champ de Mars. The common soldiers, to the number of 15,000, were placed at tables in the open air ; whilst the officers dined in the galleries of the palace of the mi-

litary school. After the repast, which was served up in presence of an immense multitude, on the sloping sides of the plain, and which was interrupted by many military songs and other toasts to the health of the Emperor, the Empress, and the imperial prince (for so the King of Rome is now denominated), repeated to the sound of music, and discharges of artillery, the whole mass of guests and spectators rose to the shout of some voices which cried out, "To the column!" The procession, carrying a bust of the Emperor, with music, moved towards the Tuileries, and presented itself under the imperial apartments with unceasing acclamations, to which Napoleon replied by appearing at the window, and saluting the enthusiastic multitude, who then repaired to the column of the grand army in the square Vendôme, under which the bust of Napoleon received a solemn inauguration; at which moment the pedestal of the pillar and the houses of the square were spontaneously illuminated, and rings of soldiers, national guards, and citizens, danced round the monument of their former glories. The evening ended with a procession round the boulevards, the palais royal, and principal streets of the neighbouring quarter. No excesses, no insulting of royalists, no turbulent shouts, or menacing gestures; in short, no sign of the triumph of one citizen over another was displayed during this fête.—*Letters written from Paris during the last reign of Napoleon.*

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